

FEMALE
INFANTICIDE
IN INDIA

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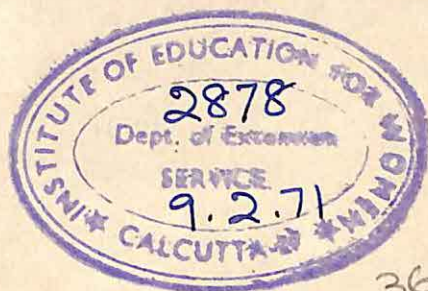
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KANTI B. PAKRASI

A most fascinating history of the origin, extent, suppression, and decline of a conspicuous custom of India, namely, Female Infanticide, prior to this century has been portrayed masterly in the book. The book is an attempt to offer not only a connected account of the gruesome practice of killing of new born females among the feudatory and chivalrous Rajputs of Western India but also to scan sociologically the causes and consequences of such deliberate destructions of female babes only in the country. Rare documents and statistics on the infanticide-loving *Jhareja* Rajputs of Kathiawar (Gujarat) of 1800-1855, have for the first time in present India been brought at the disposal of all who are interested in the variegated social history of numerous institutions of the land.

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Female Infanticide
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Kanti B. Pakrasi

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PREFACE

This book is primarily intended to be an enquiry into and an analytical exposition of the unique custom of female infanticide in past India. Infanticide was certainly no specialized social practice of Indian society. Existence of the cruel habit of killing newborn females or all children in several countries of the world is not unknown to us. In the background of the world situation attended upon the melancholic commissions of infanticide for various cultural and economic reasons the fascinating history of the origin, extent, suppression and decline of Indian Infanticide has been here spelt out, especial reference being made to the Jhareja Rajpoots of Kathiawar (Gujarat). The hair-raising drama played once by these Rajpoots in defending their inalienable social right of female infanticide has been exposed in the treatise. In doing so several social, psychological, demographic and administrative issues related to the anti-infanticide measures of the British rulers have been scanned to indicate the enormity of the acrimonious habit of girl-killing at birth.

This book is an attempt to offer not only a connected account of the consequences of female infanticide prior 1850s but also to go deeper into the cultural and economic causes of such social behaviour in the Rajpoot society at large of western and north-western India. The said account covers precisely a long span of fifty years from 1805 to 1855. On the other hand, it has again to be stressed that the magnitude and complexity of Indian Infanticide can hardly be appreciated in all its dimensions without having a direct knowledge about the *social structure* which was solely responsible to endear such peculiar, deliberate eliminations of female infants among the people in question. This book should be read as an interesting piece of document of the forgotten chapter of the social history of the Jharejas. It is hoped that this documentary treatise would be a useful accretion in anthropological literature of the land.

I am grateful to the Socio-Economic Research Institute, Calcutta, but for whose encouragement and support it would not have been possible to complete the work. In this respect I express my heartfelt thanks to Shri Durgaprasad Banerjee of Indian Statistical Institute, who first prompted

the present work. His active help and cooperation in my work was immense and fruitful. Without him I could perhaps never have an access to the original, source book, namely the *Selections From the Records of the Bombay Government*, (n.s.), no. 39-40, part 2, 1856, from our National Library. Concurrently, I am highly indebted to the Indian Statistical Institute Library. Many rare but most useful reference-publications I could consult in finalising my present writing from this Library. My thanks go to Chief and Deputy Librarians and other staff of the Library of Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. I would fail in my duty if I do not acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. B. P. Adhikari of Research and Training School, Indian Statistical Institute, for his most encouraging attitude towards my present work. At the top of everything I register my best regards for Professor P. C. Mahalanobis who first enkindled my research-interest into the problems of female infanticide in India in 1962.

Finally, a special word of appreciation is due to Dr. Amal Kumar Das, Deputy Director, Cultural Research Institute, Government of West Bengal, and Dr. Syamalkanti Sengupta, University Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta, for their active help in the publication of my book. Entire credit goes to Shri Jogen Bose, Shri Mihir Kumar Mukerjee and Shri Sukumar Ghattack for the quick printing and publication of my book. I am thankful also to Miss Hasi Sen Gupta for her excellent typing of reference-materials and tables that have been utilized in the book.

KANTI B. PAKRASI

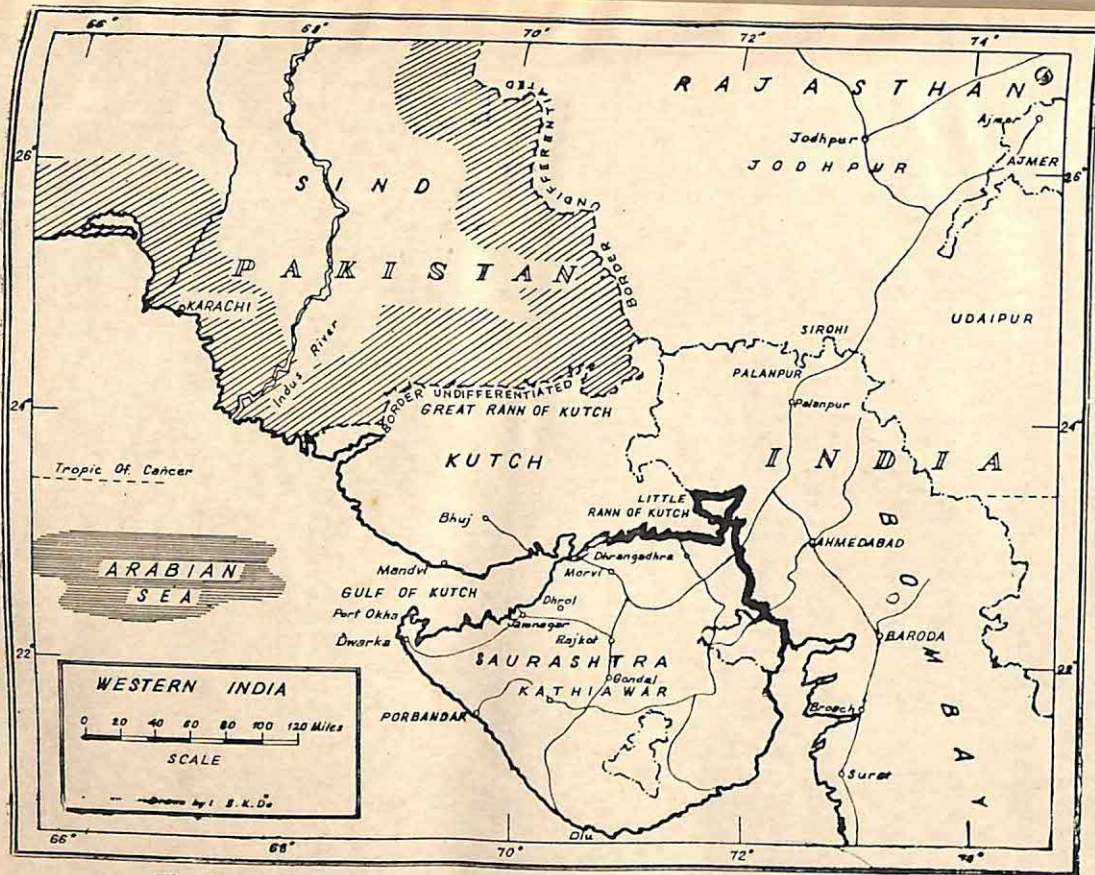
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4 December, 1970

To the Memory
of
my Parents

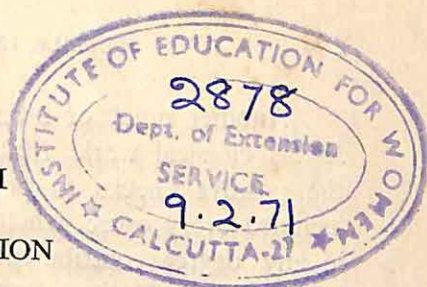
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The Map of Kathiawar (Gujarat) showing the principal seats of the Jhareja and other Rajpoots.

After John Bartholomew (1952)
The Citizen's Atlas of the World, Page 105



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Population and social groupings are the two essential components of human societies and as such population remains always extremely closely associated with social sciences like anthropology, sociology and demography. It has, thus, rightly been pointed out that as soon as a demographer 'goes beyond measurement and calculation to study the causes or consequences of population changes, differential fertility and mortality, and similar problems, enters the domain of sociology'. On the other hand, *basic data* on population size, distribution and quality are equally important to the social scientists in their study of the behaviour of the constituent members of any group of any society. Population size and its growth-pattern have long been recognised as some notable elements in the study of social morphology. Following Durkheim's concept² one can understand that *volume* or the number of social units and *density* or the number of social relationships should be well analysed to explain variations in social structures. At present it has been accepted that 'there is a reciprocal relation between population and social structure; i.e., that the social structure influences population changes as well as being affected by them'. Eventually, both the anthropologists and sociologists are needed to study and analyse various social influences upon population size, distribution, and quality and thereby to aid effectively the demographers and population researchers in general. In this direction the social scientists have already made significant contributions⁴ to appraise population problems of both past and present.

The present treatise has been attempted precisely to show how in the last century certain native groups of the feudatory Rajpoot society of Western India continued rigid observance of a traditional custom like female infanticide to cause severe impairments in the size and quality of their population. This study is expected to provide with important historical evidences in substantiating the thesis that 'the social structure influences population changes as well as being affected by them'.

Another point of immediate interest may be referred here. In his classical work⁵ Malthus is found to have remarked that the positive checks to population were extremely diverse and included every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributed 'to shorten the natural duration of human life'. Of these positive checks the custom of infanticide happened to be an important contributory factor to a vast extent in many populations around the world and referring to this social means for population-check Malthus observed that 'as its prevalence among the higher classes of the people has removed from it all odium, or imputation of poverty, it is probably often adopted rather as a fashion than a resort of necessity, and appears to be practised familiarly and without reserve.'

To arrive at such crucial conclusion Malthus had the full opportunity to analyse all evidences related to female infanticide and its functioning in the contemporary human societies of the world including India. It is well known that Sir Jonathan Duncan was first to present officially earliest known evidences⁶ of infanticide in India amongst the *Rajkoontar* tribe of Junapore area of Benaras district in 1789. It is then evident that Indian situation was not unknown to Malthus. Contextually, with all official documentary facts pertaining to female infanticide and its corrosive impact on the population of the Rajpoot groups concerned the present treatise would be of much help to appraise Malthus's prudent observations on population check through infanticide. As these official evidences under reference were not available at the time of his pioneering work the facts of infanticide in India seem to acquire unique importance in the context of Malthus's views in question. Proper study of the custom of infanticide in population researches is sure to expose inevitable effects of social factors upon population size and quality. In this treatise influences of infanticide-practice upon the social-biological life of the Rajpoot groups of *Jharejas*, *Jetwas* and *Soomras* of Kattywar province (Gujarat) of Western India have been portrayed and in doing so many rare facts and figures of the first half of the last century have been brought under ready perusal.

These facts and figures have truly been gathered from an old publication of 1856. The publication entitled, *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government* (no. 39-40 of new series) was printed at Bombay Education Society's Press

in the said year and its contents remain hardly familiar in current anthropological and sociological literatures. In the very interest of the social issue at hand this treatise embodies systematically the facts and figures available from a large number of letters, despatches, reports and memorandums. The book (*Selections*) has two parts and Part two contains Reports on the measures commencing with the year 1805, adopted, in concert with the Government by late Colonel Alexander Walker and subsequently by Mr. John Pollard Willoughby, Political Agent in Kattyawar, and by his successors, for the suppression of female infanticide in that province. This part runs for as many as four hundred and four printed pages. It is to be mentioned here that Colonel Walker and Mr. Willoughby were the principal architects and executors of British Government's policy of anti-infanticide activities against the Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras of Kattywar in the first half of the 19th Century. This treatise attempts to meet the great inconvenience of having an easy and frequent access to the original Government publication of 1856.

Regarding the country where female infanticide once prevailed so intensively among the Rajpoots in question the *Selections* help nothing to furnish geographical and other territorial particulars and again, except the people like Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras no other population was focussed in the source book. But, need for an appropriate geographical background of the country is paramount. Accordingly, immediate references have been sought from the pioneering writing⁷ of Mr. John Wilson (1855) and also from Major Le-Grand Jacob's paper⁸ (1842) to gain knowledge about geographical setting and general population make-up of the districts of Kattywar province which is better known as Gujarat (Saurashtra) in Western India of today.

The location of Kathiawar (Kattywar) province as described by Wilson and quoted in one of Government of India's reports on population estimates⁹ is as follows: Kathiawar or the Penninsular Gujarat is bounded on the north by the gulf of Kachh, and the Ran or desert of mud and sand with brackish water, which forms the continuation of that Gulf; on the east, by the Gulf of Cambay and a line drawn from its northern extremity to the eastern corner of the *Ran*; and on the south and west by the Indian Ocean. It lies between 20°40' and

23°10' north latitude; and 69°2' and 72°65' east longitude. It is, when cut diagonally about 160 miles from west to east, and about the same extent from north to south.

According to Major Jacob the province of Kattywar was then 22,000 square miles in area. Further, it has been pointed out in the said Government of India's report (1963) that Mr. Wilson's description does not correspond to the area covered by Mr. D. A. Blane, Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, who was responsible to present a detailed census of the province in 1831. In Mr. Blane's compilation population figures are given mostly village-wise and the total on computation comes to 1,759,676 persons of both sexes and these persons were distributed over 3786 villages of 9 districts of Kattywar province. The followings are the distributions of villages and population in each district of the province.

<i>District</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Total Population</i>
1. Jhalawar	527	240368
2. Kattywar	362	195272
3. Muchoo Kanta	134	29584
4. Hallar	1138	370260
5. Soruth	674	409000
6. Burda	180	64000
7. Gohelwar	657	430220
8. Oond Surveya	56	11040
9. Babriawar	58	9932
10. All districts	3786	1759676

With this geographical and population background of Kattywar one has to appreciate the contents of the treatise which describes different phases of anti-infanticide movements, particularly in the famous district of Hallar. This movement lasted for long 50 years from 1805 to 1855 and very frequently several *Talookas* of the district have been mentioned, especially in several census reports on the infanticide-practising people of the country. As a matter of fact, along with Hallar the district of Muchoo Kanta also received sufficient attention under the protracted but resolute British administration. These two districts, it would be found from the treatise, were the principal

seats of the Jhareja Rajpoots who caused enough anxieties and agitations in the contemporary times. The district of Hallar was reported by Mr. Blane to possess 32 *Talookas* in 1831 and of these Nowannuger (Jamnagar), Gondul (Gondal), Dherol (Dhrol) and Rajkot Sirdhar *Talookas* came into limelight for their powerful and rich Jhareja chieftains and chiefs who in connection with the question of total abolition of their customary practice of infanticide had to encounter a most bitter and awful relations with Government Residents, Political Agents, and other official functionaries stationed at either Baroda or Rajkot. On the other hand, the district of Muchoo Kanta became a trouble spot due to the superior Jhareja Chieftain of Moorve Talooka and subsequently due to the Meena tribe of Mallia Talooka. Moorve and Mallia composed the district of Muchoo Kanta. In Hallar district 1138 villages with 3,70,260 population were enumerated by Blane, while in Muchoo Kanta district 134 villages only with 29,584 population were recorded. Jhareja Rajpoot families of these two districts of Kattywar province created a fascinating history by their orthodox adherence to and criminal observance of female infanticide and the entire blast of British actions against such barbarous custom had to endure very painfully by these people in the first half of nineteenth century.

Population in Hallar district was mainly constituted by the social groups like Koonbees, Ahers, Rajpoots, Wantias, Bramins, Lowanas, Bhatias, Wagers, Sutwaras, Kolees, Geerasia Rajpoots, Sindians, Koombars, Woras. Among these groups Koonbees, Kolees, Wantias and Rajpoots were numerous. On the other hand, among the principal *Talookas* (i) Nowannuger was composed of 622 villages with 200,000 inhabitants (estimated). In this Talooka people like Koonbees, Ahers and Rajpoots were the most numerous classes, (ii) Gondul Dhorajee had 179 villages with 80,000 dwellers (estimated) according to Mr. Blane. In this Talooka social group of Koonbees was most important in numerical strength, (iii) in Rajkot Sirdhar 55 villages having 20,000 inhabitants (estimated) were recorded and here the Koonbees, Wantias and Kolees were the most numerous classes, and (iv) Dhurol Surupdur Talooka was constituted by only 29 villages and 10,000 population (estimated). In this Talooka again the Koonbees and Rajpoots were the most numerous classes. The above Rajpoots were exclusively noto-

rious in preserving a strong family pride to destroy female infants immediately after birth by various cruel methods.

Similarly, in the district of Muchoo Kanta the people like Wantias, Koonbees, Bramins, Kolees, Rajpoots, Meenas and Ahers were found to have principal concentrations. Out of two Talookas of this district Moorve was shown by Mr. Blane to possess 124 villages and their population was estimated to be 24,784. Here the Wantias, Koonbees and Bramins were the most numerous classes, yet the Jhareja Rajpoots of the district had the leading position. The Chieftain of Moorve Talooka was a very powerful and respectable Jhareja who was one of very few Jharejas to denounce first the criminal practice of infanticide.

Supplementary information about the country of Kathiawar and her people has been more elaborately incorporated in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 15 (1908) and the same is noted here only to provide with additional materials—geographical, historical, social—on the contemporary situation. These materials would be of immediate value to improve relevant knowledge that has been already acquired through Wilson, Jacob, or Blane. The *Gazetteer* describes Kathiwar (or Surashtra) as a peninsula which is lying between $20^{\circ} 41'$ and $23^{\circ} 8' N.$ and $68^{\circ} 56'$ and $72^{\circ} 20' E.$ The extreme length of the peninsular or western portion of the province of Gujarat, is about 220 miles, its greatest breadth about 165 miles, its area about 23,445 square miles, and its population turned out in 1901 to be 2,64,5805. Of these totals, about 1245 square miles, with 173,436 persons, belonged to the Gaekwar; about 1,298 square miles, with 128,559 persons, belonged to Ahmedabad District; about 20 square miles, with 14,614 persons, belonged to the Portuguese possession of Diu; while the remainder (area 20,882 square miles and population 2,329,196) was the territory forming the Political Agency subordinate to the Government of Bombay, established in 1822, having under its control 193 separate States, great or small, whose Chiefs divided among themselves the greater portion of the peninsula of Kathiwar (Kattywar).

It has been noted further that formerly Kathiawar was divided into ten *prants* (administrative divisions): (1) *Jhalawar* in the north; (2) *Muchu Kanta*, west of Jhalawar; (3) *Halar*, in the north-west; (4) *Okhamandal*, in the extreme west, belonging to Baroda; (5) *Barda* or Jethwar, along the south-east coast;

(6) *Sorath*, in the south; (7) *Babriwar*, a hilly tract in the south-east; (8) *Kathiawar*, a large district near the middle; (9) *Undsarviya*, situated along the Shetrunji river; and (10) *Gohelwar* in the east, along the shore of the Gulf of Cambay, so named after the Gohel Rajpoots. This geographical description would aid in locating the famous tract where female infanticide played once a momentous role till the middle of the last century.

It is learnt that the Mohammedans called Kathiwar by the prakritized name of *Sorath*, and a large division in the south-west, 100 miles in length, retains still that title. Another tract, quite as large, to the east of the centre, however, has long been known as Kathiawar, from having been overrun by the Kathis, who entered the peninsula from Cutch in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century the whole tribe was driven out of Cutch, and in that and the following century they conquered a considerable territory of the peninsula. The Marathas who came into contact with them in their forays, and sometimes successfully repelled by them, extended the name of Kathiawar to the whole province, and from them had been borrowed the appellation in its wider sense; but by Brahmans (Bramins) and the natives generally it is still spoken of as *Surashtra*.

In going a little deeper in the historical past it would be found that once the Guptas of Kanuj and their *senapatis* ruled Surashtra for a brief time and after them the Vallabhi Kings extended their sway over Cutch and defeated the Mers who controlled Kathiawar between 470 and 520 A.D. These Vallabhis were later subverted by Muslim invaders from Sind. As a result seat of Government remained from 746 to 1298 A.D. at *Anhilvada* farther north beyond the borders of Kathiawar. During these critical years various petty kingdoms arose, and the *Jethwas* became a powerful tribe in the west of Surashtra. The *Jhalas* were said to have been settled in northern Kathiawar by the Anhilvada kings. The *Gohels* came from the north in the thirteenth century and concentrated in eastern Kathiawar. The *Jharejas* and the *Kathis* came from the west, through Cutch.

Gujarat, after its conquest by Akbar in 1572, was ruled by viceroys from the court of Delhi, until the Marathas supplanted the imperial power. In 1705 the Marathas entered Gujarat, and by 1760 had firmly established their rule. But the following half-century was a time of little ease for the tributaries in Kathiawar, and petty wars were frequent. During the latter part of the

eighteenth century, according to Musalman and Maratha custom, the Gaekwar, partly for himself and partly for his overlord the Peshwas, sent yearly a revenue-collecting army (*mulkigiri*) to collect contributions from the Chiefs of western and northern Gujarat. As this armed expedition caused much waste and confusion, the British Government *agreed to associate itself* with the Gaekwar in recovering the Maratha tribute from the Kathiawar States.

In 1803 some of the weaker *talukdars* applied to the British Resident at Baroda for protection, offering to cede their territory to the East India Company. They were then independent of the Peshwas and the Gaekwar, with the exception of being bound to furnish contributions. In 1807 the forces of Company and the Gaekwar of Baroda advanced into Kathiawar, and the Chiefs entered into engagements to pay a fixed tribute to their overlords, to keep peace towards each other, and to maintain order within their own limits. In return, they were secured from the visitation of the *mulkigiri* forces, which used to appear at harvest time and in default of payment ravaged the crops and fired the villages. Internal strifes and resistance to the supreme authority were ended in 1807-8 by the settlement effected by Colonel Alexander Walker, one great feature of which was that the tributes were fixed, and *the work of collection was undertaken by the British Government*, which also acquired the Peshwa's right in Kathiawar after the Satara proclamation in 1818. In 1820 the Gaekwar agreed to have his share collected and paid by the British Government.

From the above historical evidences one would have no difficulty in assessing the exigence of the direct involvement on the part of the East India Company's Government in the life and living of the inhabitants of Kathiawar of the early nineteenth century. Without such historical-political knowledge it would naturally be inconvenient to explain why a military person like Colonel Walker and his successors in the Company's forces were required to interfere with the native society of old Gujarat. It is clear that company's extra-ordinary interest in Kathiawar was *definitely not* limited in their noble purpose designed for total suppression of an evil custom of female infanticide. They had one greater *object* to achieve in establishing their absolute power and authority in that distracted peninsular tract where already the Portuguese power gained a fortified foothold at Diu.

Eradication of female infanticide in closest association with Gaekwar Government and Cutch Authority constituted, nodoubt, a benevolent action on the part of Company's Government, but the same also helped the Company enormously to penetrate the distracted country of Kathiawar and her disunited people. Female infanticide offerend an easy entry to Colonel Walker and his forces inside a territory which was still then outside direct authority of Government of Bombay. Truly speaking, suppression of female infanticide and necessary engagements signed later by the powerful Jhareja Chieftains and Chiefs of Kathiawar in denouncing their age-old domestic custom strengthened British power and prestige in the peninsula. For long 50 years British Government was engaged with the people of that distracted country in various situations in continuing anti-infanticide activities and they were successful in the long run to dominate over the country as a whole, not to speak of the Jhareja Rajpoots alone. Abolition of an evil practice like infanticide caused ultimately political victory to the emerging British power in Western India. This significant aspect of the Indian custom of female infanticide has to be borne in mind to merit the British actions in Kathiawar during 1805-1855.

The Rajpoot inhabitants who were frequently mentioned and met with in the fascinating episodes of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar (Kathiawar) described below, were said to have entered the peninsula in the past as invading tribes. In varying strength each invading tribe toiled hard to set its 'kingdom' in some uninhabited or less habited tract in the peninsula. Once that was achieved the Chief of each tribe bestowed *on their relations* portions of the land they have acquired by force. This share was named as *Kapal giras*, and passed to the descendants of the original grantees. The more enterprising *girasias* continued to acquire fresh lands from their neighbours, until they found themselves sufficiently strong to become independent rulers. Others, less enterprising, surrendered the greater portion of the land to a neighbouring Chief in return for protection, and fell into the position of *mulgirasias* or 'original sharers'. When a *girasia* succeeded in gaining his independence he became a *talukadar* and assumed the title of Thakur, Raval, Rana, or Raja. As he rose in the social scale, the landed proprietor became anxious to leave his possessions in tact to his eldest son; at the sametime the custom of the country compelled him to set aside a portion of

his estates for each of his younger sons, and these in turn became *girasias* owing submission to the head of the family, but otherwise independent. Thus, in Kathiawar landed property had been minutely subdivided, and the process continued, so that some estates not larger than a single village had upwards of a hundred share holders. As a rule, the revenue control of these estates had been left to the shareholders, except during minority, etc. In addition to the landed estates held by the *talookdars* and *girasias*, many villages or portions of villages were held hereditarily as religious and service grants. Another large class of proprietors were *jivaidars*, or holders of estates as maintenance or on service tenure. They had not the position or privileges of *girasias*, and possessed neither civil or criminal jurisdiction. Some of them were *life tenants*. The *talukdars* of Kathiawar had absolute power over property in their private or *Khalsa* land. The landlord's rent or *raj bhog* was a fixed share of the produce.

The above observations as noted in the *Gazetteer*, shed interesting light on that fundamental base out of which the socio-economic organisation of the Rajpoots in question emerged in Kathiawar. This has, no doubt, essential bearing with the peculiar social structure that the Kathiawar section of the Rajpoots of western and north-western India built up gradually in consonance with the local situation. From these observations social and economic interconnectedness between individual Jhareja Chief and his *Bhyad* (related family groups or royal brotherhood) is well understood. There is no doubt that their system of property-owing, its segmentation and succession in patrilineal lines was basically responsible to develop a strong rank-hierarchy among them. Kinship solidarity was sustained through this system and the net result was that the social area of choice of partners in marriage became highly restricted within Kathiawar for them. Under the circumstances, every tribe had to look abroad and to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females. Again, in looking abroad for suitors, the laws of caste do not allow them to go, of course, beyond the Rajpoot races.

As the Jhareja *talukdars* were of superior rank, their class-consciousness led them to maintain strictest adherence to family genealogy and in doing so sharp distinction between superior and inferior lineages was preserved. As a matter of fact, family genealogy became 'the touch stone of affinities and guardian of

the laws of inter-marriage' with the Jhareja Rajpoots under review. Several classes of *talukdars*, *girasias*, and *life tenants* stratified their society so rigidly that social mobility was circumscribed. On the other hand, the Jhareja *talukdars* as the Chiefs and Thakurs occupied the topmost position in the societal hierarchy of Kathiawar and accordingly, they had to set matrimonial relations with only those families which were accepted to be superior or at least equal to the status (rank) of their own. Their towering pride in superior family descent and nobility of lineage did never allow them to contract marriages in Rajpoot families of inferior status.

The upshot of such *rank-consciousness* was that all the tribes began to claim high descent, though it was definite that all were not equally noble. The more direct lines of any original Chief were, of course, the noblest; while the less direct lines, with their various collateral and subordinate branches, possessed such gradations of rank which were endlessly and capriciously diversified. In this societal situation no families of superior rank, that is, superior in their own estimation, or in that of the community at large, would naturally allow themselves to be deteriorated by inter-marriage with any another inferior family. Purity of lineage influenced some to accept in marriage the daughters of Rajpoots that were deemed superior, *but not to give* their own daughters in marriage to them.¹¹ In other cases, this practice was exactly reversed. Superior Jharejas of Kattywar were found to have accepted the former practice. For suitors for their own daughters they were customarily required to look for the other Rajpoot families of different but superior clans and ranks but some unsurmountable hurdles prevented them, being a sub-division of the Yadu division of the great Rajpoot society, in enjoying marital relations with the Seesodia, Rhator or Chohan Rajpoots of former Rajputana. Jharejas' ancestors once suffered contamination through inter-marriages with the Muhammadans in their stay at Sind and due to this serious breach in social conduct they were excommunicated from the larger society of the Rajpoots of north-western India. No other Rajpoot, especially of superior rank, from the larger society dared to endanger himself and his lineage in instituting any matrimonial relations with the socially degraded Jhareja Rajpoots, irrespective of their rank, wealth, power and genuine desire to be treated as pure Rajpoot. Whether Seesodia, Rhator

or Chohan everyone abhorred to accept the hand of even a Jhareja princess. The Kattywar Jharejas had to face a serious social isolation because of some anti-social acts of their ancestors. They lost their caste precisely for inter-marriages with the people of Muslim faith and even when they completely severed all connections with such non-Hindu people and began a purified life in Kattywar (Kathiawar) their desire to be considered as pure Rajpoot was not honoured and accepted by those superior Rajpoots with whom the Jharejas contemplated to set up matrimonial alliances in consonance with their high status in Kattywar.

In their new habitat at Kathiawar the superior Jharejas had very little scope to choose a suitable family in which their daughters could ordinarily be married. They believed themselves to be so many royal races having an incredible antiquity and nobility of lineage. They were extraordinarily proud of their exalted rank and dignity and eventually no other people in their new habitat was in a position according to their tall estimation, to claim equal status to them. Under the predominant influence of 'excessive pride, the master-passion' thus generated, the lordly aristocratic Jharejas cherished blindly not to incur fancied disgrace of *unequal alliances* and thereby break the noble line by contaminating the blood, of so noble a descent of their own. In plain words, they refused to give their daughters in marriage with some suitors originating from ordinary and inferior families. Neither these Jharejas had any scope to seek alliances with the other Rajpoots of superior or equal rank in giving their daughters in marriage, nor they found any suitable family not inferior to them in rank in Kathiawar.

The other Rajpoots abandoned them for their contaminations with the Muslims of Sind and no question would arise with them to take daughters from such socially degraded Jharejas. On their other hand, with their lofty claims for noble lineage and family pride the Jharejas felt below their dignity to give their daughters' marriages with any persons from inferior families. In the background of these very special social developments it was no wonder that the Jharejas would declare: 'where have we an equal to whom to be bestowed in marriage?' Nevertheless, 'the chief motive with the Jharejas to the commission of infanticide is the pride which leads them to consider the other tribes of Rajpoots *unworthy* of receiving their daughters in

marriage; and as no Rajput can marry a female of his own tribe they prefer putting them to death to the prospect of the dishonour which is likely to result from their living in a single state', thus, was once remarked by the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors, East India Company. Painful societal circumstances which forced the Jharejas to continue the atrocious practice of female infanticide in their relatively peaceful and prosperous living in Kathiawar have been explained in brief above and it would not be difficult to understand the fundamental causes which ensured the existence and continuity of the abnormal social practice of female infanticide in the Jhareja society in question.

There is another significant of this problem.¹² The Rajpoots who were infatuated with family pride and importance would obviously be unwilling to offer their females as wives without a very large dowry. 'Inability to advance the marriage portion demanded, prompts to the commission of crime, as an alternative preferable in the estimate of the Rajput, to the dreaded dishonour and degradation of an unequal alliance.' In other cases, 'the sums were payable by the female side, ever unalterable, equal to the rich and the poor. What precisely first established the payment is unknown, but it was so sacred, inviolable and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation. Hence arose infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed disgrace and thus imposed a necessity on all female progeny of becoming victims to their family honour.' Another very general cause was in the 'inveterate persuasion' in this effect that all nuptials must be celebrated on a scale of magnificence, prescribed by hereditary usage and proportion to the real or supposed rank of the contracting parties.

This is in general gathered that the common rule was 'when-ever and wherever there is no reasonable prospect of obtaining suitable marriage for daughters, or of defraying the customary nuptial expenses, there and then, must the life of the female infant be considered as forfeited' among the Jharejas along with others composing the vast Rajpoot community in India.

In this context a glance may be profitably paid over the early evidences on Infanticide in India. Balfour (1885) dis-

cussed the history of this human custom¹³ in the world's perspective and he had the occasion to state that infanticide of female infants had been practiced in India from unknown times amongst the ancient *Gakkar* race in the Punjab and it had been a constant custom, and had continued in several parts of India down to the latter third of the 19th Century. First to be confined among the clans of *Rajkoomar* or *Rajvansa* tribes residing districts in the neighbourhood of Benaras, but later its presence was detected among several tribes in Gujarat, all through Rajputana, also in the N. W. Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), in Oudh, Cutch and west of the Indus in Baluchistan. It is clear that of the tribes in Gujarat mentioned by him the Jhareja Rajpoots were the most noted group. It has further been pointed out that besides the Jharejas and other infanticide-practicing tribes of Kattywar (Gujarat) and Kutch, *Jut* (Jat), the *Rhator Rajpoots* of Jeypore and Jodhpur, the *Sourah* of Ganjam, the polyandric *Toda* race on the Nilgiri Hills and the Naga tribes of Assam also practiced female infanticide in India.

The present treatise deals with the infanticide-practising *Jharejas*, *Jetwas* and *Soomras* of Kattywar (Gujarat) Province and also with various interesting episodes related to the suppression of the atrocious custom in India. Documentary evidences on the people and their age-old criminal habit in question have exhaustively been incorporated in the source book of the *Selections*. The relevant evidences given in the *Selections* have been replicated in the present treatise to highlight the forgotten past of some natives who in India once practised vigorously female infanticide under various social, economic and psychological impediments. The Jharejas became a notable, historical figure in the first half of the 19th Century but for their barbarous custom of infanticide.

Incidentally, it must be noted that after Duncun's first encounter with the custom of female infanticide amongst the *Rajkoomar* Rajputs of Benaras in 1789, the then Government of India, during the Marquis Wellesley's administration, in 1802 declared infanticide to be punishable by law¹², though this proclamation was partially successful. In the immediate background of these two significant developments Colonel Walker came to deal drastically with the infanticide-practising Jhareja Rajpoots of Kattywar province. In his mission he was admirably assisted

by another strong administrator Mr. J. P. Willoughby. Against the native custom of infanticide East India Company's Government in India took stern attitude and initiated many outstanding measures—coercive, sumptuary, and educative—to root out the odious crime. Official records and other instructive evidences related to British actions against infanticide in Kattywar and people's reactions to the same were compiled in plenty in the last century. These records and evidences are lying scattered in various rare publications¹⁴ including the *Selections* (1856) and Wilson's book (1855).

In preparing the treatise the *Selections* in question has thoroughly been perused to collate exhaustively documentary evidences on anti-infanticide measures in Kattywar and at the same time Wilson's writings have also been consulted to keep track with the running history of the multitude of events which were once caused by British Government in Hallar and Muchoo Kanta districts of Kattywar province within 1805 and 1855. Every care has additionally been taken to marshall *quantitative* information in the treatise as completely as possible in harmony with all original *data*. Further, statistical computations have especialley been attempted here to bear out the importance of such *data* which were collected long before the introduction of official census of population in India round about 1870. These *data* would be, no doubt, of considerable value in the assessment of population characteristics of Kathiawar, Western India in the first half of the 19th Century.

In the source book of the *Selections* many facts of anthropological and sociological interests have been recorded in dealing with the social problem of infanticide and the same receive special mentioning in this treatise. Rajpoot marriage-system and its various expensive prerogatives favouring a *privileged circuit* of matrimonial alliances between families of superior rank and status have been focused with all emphasis to pinpoint the fundamental social factor which was inherently responsible for perpetuation of the abnormal habit among the ruling Rajpoot clan (*the Jharejas*) of Kattywar (Gujarat). The social history pertaining especially to migrational dispersions of the Jharejas from Sind downwards to Kutch, Kattywar and other areas of northern India has particularly been highlighted here to expose how the peculiar social-religious connections of the Rajpoots (mainly Jharejas) with the Mohemedan people of Sind gave birth in the long run

to the criminal habit of infant-killing in the Jhareja families of superior rank. An unique cultural-infusion was engendered under a very special circumstances in which the Jharejas' forerunners were critically subjected in their stay under Muslim rule in Sind. Details of the historical background of this very special circumstances have very well been discussed by Col. Walker in his report to the Government. Col. Walker's narration has been extensively incorporated in the treatise.

It is of importance to know that in distant past female infanticide was common all over Arabia in the time of Mahomed and this barbarous practice has frequently been reprobated in the holy muslim scripture of Koran. Balfour¹⁵ pointed out in this context that Pagan Arabs long practised this atrocious crime and motives were said to be linked up with their orthodox idea of becoming poor by fostering daughters, or with their apprehension lest the daughters were put to displeasure and disgrace if they became captives, or with their anxities lest their daughters became source of scandal by some undesirable feminine exuberances in youth. Jhareja Rajpoot's motives for female infanticide which were very carefully cross-examined and recorded by Col. Walker echo strangely the same sentiments of Pagan Arabs. Thus, Col. Walker had the occasion to remark¹⁶ like this: 'It is probable that the custom of Infanticide amongst the Jharejas was a consequence resulting from the Mohamedan conquest of Sind'.

It has been said again that these Jharejas were once the powerful inhabitants of Sind before Mohamedan invasion and when Sind was captured by the fanatical Khalifs who succeeded to the power and authority of Mahomed 'conversion of infidels' became the urgent and sacred task of the conquerers. As a result, the dwellers of major part of Sind, who were unmistakably Rajpoots, the Jharejas were naturally deprived of the usual means of disposing of their daughters in marriage. The situation turned out to be extremely critical to the ancestors of Kattywar Jharejas. They were suddenly surrounded and overwhelmed by a Muslin power which began to exact from the conquered Rajpoots multifarious advantages not excluding forceful marital relations with them. As a result, the Rajpoots in question were precluded from marrying their daughters to those amongst whom they were formerly accustomed socially to contract matrimonial engagements. Many risks were in view to insist on customary marriage-arrangements with other Rajpoot families residing at

far-off places beyond Sind. Consequently, under a severe stress and strain these Rajpoot families of Sind had to prefer the abnormal practice of destroying their female daughters to be free once for all from inevitable disgrace and humiliation of *social degradation* linked up with the imminent possibility of marital relations with the Muslims.

Destruction of females of tender ages was a familiar custom to the conquering Muslims of Sind and in the adoption of such odious means the conquered Rajpoots in the very interest of their own social security drew justified inspiration from their superior Muslim rulers of Sind. Cultural borrowing of a Muslim practice by the Hindu Rajpoots of Sind seemed to be the most outstanding phenomenon in the social living of the ancestors of the Jharejas of Kattywar. The Rajputs continued to observe the tradition of such detestful custom even in favourable situation only to make themselves fully distinguished amidst different people in their *new habitat* in Cutch and Kattywar. The descendants of the Rajpoots of Sind preferred to suffer the harmful consequences of the tradition of female infanticide than to relinquish their distinguished status in Kathiawar.

Even when normalcy prevailed in their post-migratory life in Cutch or Kattywar the abnormal habit of infanticide persisted strongly amongst the Jharejas. Impelling causes for this development have already been discussed above. It may be sufficient to repeat that their strong senses of family pride, royal descent, martial vanity, rank-consciousness and orthodox sentiments played decisive roles to instil the barbarous practice in their daily life. These socio-psychological factors were enormously powerful to dwarf all aesthetic feelings and parental affections of the Jharejas for generation together. These factors were equally responsible to sharpen class-differentiations among them and as a result, choice for suitable marriage-partners for the daughters of the families of higher or lower rank became a lasting problem. Concurrently, the difficulty of defraying heavy marriage expenses continued to loom large before them. It appeared from the unanimous, concurrent testimony of European and Native authorities about whom sufficient observations have hereafter been made in the treatise, that the Jharejas had to sustain the cruel custom of female infanticide only to get rid forever of the twin difficulties organically related to (i) procurement of suitable son-in-laws from families of equal, if not, higher rank and (ii) defrayal of an

heavy amount as marriage-expenses in marrying the daughters. In these two social factors the *real* cause for continuation of female infanticide in the Jhareja society of Kattywar may be well resolved.¹⁷

In the above context the history of administrative actions on the part of the then British Government against the orthodox usage of female infanticide in the Rajpoot society of Kattywar (1805-1855) has especially been focussed in this treatise. In discussing the history of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar attention has also been concentrated to describe how a small native group like the Jhareja Rajpoots who were led by an infatuated pride to become destroyers of their own female infants experienced a revolutionary improvement in their social outlook and behaviour under some corrective measures.

The entire history of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar province during first 50 years of the nineteenth century stands to expose magnificent decline of the age-old atrocious custom of child-killing at one hand and the outstanding emergence of some *new* social values on the other amongst the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras who were the essential constituents of a great feudal society of the Rajpoots of western and north-western India. Magnitude and complexity of Indian Infanticide can hardly be appreciated in all its dimensions without having a direct but authentic knowledge of the Jharejas. Fruitful references of these noteworthy people are not readily available to those who happen to be interested in the study of the custom in question. This treatise is expected to render useful assistance in the field of research on Indian Infanticide and its bearing on population size and quality. The original book of the *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government* (1856) is the first consolidated report on Female Infanticide in India. Wilson's *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (1855) is another old and rare publication containing essentially those evidences which appeared in the said *Selections*. These two publications deal with the same subject-matter on Female Infanticide in Kattywar, but the former one is the first full report having all relevant records, documents and memorandums. What Wilson did is precisely related to an attempt in developing a running history of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar on the basis of the materials available in the said *Selections* only.

Lastly, a point has to be clarified. The style maintained in

this treatise to furnish necessary evidences, documents and population statistics from the original source book may resemble considerably that of Wilson, but essential departures are there to distinguish the present writing. The treatise is more exhaustive and elaborate in its contents and the same has been stuffed with all important records which have immediate relevance to the issue under review. Every care has also been taken not to exclude any original facts and figures of importance. As the original source book of the *Selections* as well as Wilson's master-summary of the materials supplied in the said source book, are very old in existence an urgent need for a competent review of the valuable materials on Indian Infanticide has been felt by the present writer and accordingly, the treatise has been planned and acted upon to present a scientific analysis of some rare evidences on an ancient Indian custom in question.

It is urged that the present treatise should be read as a piece of document on the forgotten chapter of the infanticide-practising people like the Jharejas, Jetwas, Soomras, and Meanas of Western India. The treatise is never intended to be an original contribution, but the same shall help accretion of significant knowledge about the nature and extent of the custom of female infanticide in India during the last century. It must be admitted that a report on Indian Infanticide written 114 years ago by the witnesses and participants concerned has obviously its own right to claim recognition and distinction in the fields of sociological, anthropological, and demographic researches of to-day in India. Under any circumstances, a rich mine of information as available in these old but rare source books on Female Infanticide in India has to be exploited *anew* before they are lost for good. With this particular view in mind the merit of the present treatise may be appreciated. The treatise is a long one, but it is to be noted whether this does not very much arise from the very nature and importance of the social issue at hand. The multitude of facts and statements including memorandums has been adduced only to emphasise the significance of the subject under review and to form more concrete and accurate views of the evil nature of an ancient social practice and its appropriate remedy in India.

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CHAPTER 2

FIRST PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS : INITIAL SITUATION : 1805—1812

Infanticide was no new crime in the 'multitudinous catalogue of human guilt'. But, probably, in no age or clime, in no condition of life or stage of society, had the unnatural and criminal usage of such practice prevailed so extensively and systematically, as for many generations together, among certain classes of feudatory Rajpoots in Western India. In 1800 knowledge about the customary observance of female infanticide amongst the Rajpoots concerned was brought to the notice of Sir Jonathon Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, by the Minister *Kripa Rama* of the Nawab of Surat. *Kripa Rama* reported that 'among the tribe of Rajpoots and especially among the Rajahs of that class, the birth of a daughter in their house was considered as disgraceful' and that newly born daughters were accordingly 'put to death' and again, that 'the practice was *not general* through all the sub-divisions of their tribe, though in several places, they did thus stony-heartedly kill them'. Further to this, in 1804, in a conversation with *Gajra Bai*, a daughter of one of the Gaekwar Princes (*Fatteh Sing*) of Gujarat, Sir Duncan incidentally got an opportunity to ascertain the fact of the above evil deed and he was told by her that the caste of Jhareja Rajpoots in Cutch 'did not bring up their daughters'. At the sametime, an influential native of Cutch disclosed that it was notoriously known to be an established practice among those of the Jhareja tribe of Cutch and the neighbouring district of Kattiawar, not to bring up their daughters, but to put them to death at their birth. At the instance of the Governor of Bombay Captain Seton, stationed at Mandavi, corroborated the above incidental intimations after instituting a thorough enquiry and on 23 March, 1804 declared in black and white that 'every female infant born in the Rajah's family, if of a Rani or lawful wife, was immediately put to death'.

It is not difficult to anticipate the tremendous effect of such successive disclosures on a man like Duncan who himself had intimate experiences of the atrocious custom of infant killing among the *Rajkoomars* of Benaras district in 1789. He was the

first British official who was successful to suppress such odious custom at the end of the eighteenth century from amongst the *Rajkoomars*. Naturally, all the horrible facts related to the same female infanticide in Cutch and Kattywar caused enormous concern to him and he urged immediate abolition of the criminal practice from amongst the Jhareja Rajpoots. Fortunately enough, for the cause of humanity, a co-adjutor, worthy of Duncan's principle was providentially raised up in the military official like Colonel Alexander Walker who assumed the charge of British Resident at Baroda at that time. He was a valiant fighter to institute those enquiries into the problems of killing of female infants at birth which paved ultimately the path of effective abrogation of the cruel custom in Gujarat. The criminal practice of a startling and appalling magnitude was practically uprooted from within the Jhareja society after a long and bitter battle prosecuted with unparallal vigour, energy and earnestness by the then Government of Bombay of East India Company. It was obviously no easy task to be accomplished by a group of English administrators. It was wellknown that to female infanticide belonged 'the fell and the fatal pre-eminence of ubiquity as to time and place, and rank and condition'. A thorough knowledge of the prevalence and extent of this horrid custom, or the agents and means employed in its accomplishment, or the causes or reasons which might have led to its original perpetration, and which still tended to perpetuate the same as a 'national custom' or the measures to be adopted or proposed for the immediate or ultimate abolition of the crime was, no doubt, essential for the British administrators in the very interest of their determinant stand against the native custom which gained among the Jharejas societal approval and acceptance as some inviolable entity for generations together. Col. Walker took the lead in exposing *why, how and what* of the native custom of infanticide in Kattywar province and in his daring attempt he was given the most active encouragement by Sir Duncan, Governor of Bombay and his Government right in the beginning of the 19th Century. Sir Duncan graced the Bombay Government as Governor in 1795 and immediately before that he had the glorious role to play in eradicating similar detestful crime as the British Resident at Benaras.

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Kathiawar about *a thousand female infants were annually destroyed* and in its neighbouring province of Cutch, about two thousands, though some conflicting estimates declared the exaggerated number to be 20,000. Validity of these estimates would be enormously clear from Walker's personal experiences and knowledge about which elaborate observations have been made in the following pages.

In the absence of any accurate census it was really impossible to determine with precision the aggregate of females that perished annually from the cruel practice of infanticide in Kattywar and Cutch. Eventually, wild conjectures and mis-statements about the secret commissions of female child-murder in the Jhareja society prevailed in the contemporary times of Col. Walker and his associates. But, that the problem was not fake had been well substantiated by Walker. How he could accomplish a rare feat in unearthing the vicious existence of the dangerous habit of child killing amongst the Jhareja Rajpoots of Hallar and Muchoo Kanta districts of Kattywar province has been exhaustively been described below. It should be remembered that Walker commenced his mission exactly at that critical hours when female infanticide was common to all ranks and degrees of Jhareja life and nourished its 'sanguinary presence' in the palaces of Chieftains and Chiefs not less than in the cottages of poor in Kathiawar. Perpetration of female infanticide happened to be a social reality of the time under review.

At the very outset the official records of the *Selections* show that Colonel Alexander Walker forwarded an important despatch to Mr. F. Warden, Secretary to Government of Bombay on 27 May, 1805, drawing poignant attention to some Rajpoot Chieftains' families of the *Talookas* of Dherol and Nowanugger, Kattywar (Gujarat). These families were reported to have migrated from Bhooj (Cutch) and the members of which had by the time earned distinction 'by the no less extraordinary than barbarous practice of putting their female children to death in their infancy.' Walker's official communication itself was very brief, but the same raised gradually a thundering interest in this barbarous custom. For eradication of the custom British Government had to interfere in the long run with the domestic life of the Rajpoots in question and every effort was made to expose critically the very *motive* behind such inhuman habit. Local administration was found to have been increasingly engaged

to go deep into the contemporary societal situation of the area to sift out the factors responsible for the thriving custom of female infanticide. Mr. Warden in his reply on 6 June, 1805 dwelt more on the issue in stating that 'all the *Jharejas*, or those who are of the same caste with the family of the present Raja of Kutch' practised inhuman infanticide. This custom he apprehended to exist also among several other classes on the borders of Cutch and again, within *Gaekwar's*, or the *Peshwa's*, or in some quarters of Gujarat itself. Walker was asked to cause full enquiry into such evil practice and take appropriate measures to restraint people from 'a practice so abhorrent to all principle and natural feeling.' This happens to be the first green signal from the Government of Bombay to go ahead in establishing a full-fledged anti-infanticide movement in Kattywar in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Immediately after Mr. Warden's order was transmitted Col. Walker lost no time to execute quick actions. At the very outset, he engaged, as it is known from his letter of 27 July, 1805, one *Soonderji Sewjee* of Mandvee in Cutch to supply him 'information relative to the barbarous practice alluded to' and also to ascertain its extent and prevalence in the area under his jurisdiction. Walker seemed to be interested to know the real state of affair before he could chalk out a master strategy for causing final abrogation of the detestable and atrocious custom of a native group of Western India. As a foreign administrator he had obviously to grasp the *initial situation* in the very interest of his administrative policy and accordingly, the native functionary like Sewjee was entrusted to collect relevant information about the practice and the people who adored such odious custom from long past.

Under the circumstances, Sewjee went ahead at the instance of the Resident to gather authentic report on 'the origin and continuation of this practice [among the *Jharejas*], and in what manner the infants are destroyed; also how far this custom is prevalent among the other tribes of Rajpoots, and the number of children who may suffer annually from the practice.' This significant move was taken on 25 July, 1805. On the otherhand, it is equally interesting to learn that it was a native functionary who was *first* called upon to enlighten the Government with such vital social and demographic information that ought to be judiciously utilised in planning any extraneous method for eradi-

cation of the custom in question. In the administration of the native people the British officers and military personnel must possess adequate knowledge of the people concerned and more particularly they should appreciate *the networks of social usages and sanctions* before any interference of any nature might be imposed. Walker was truly aware of this exigence and thus, he refrained from taking any direct actions against the crime of child-killing before Sewjee brought him necessary and sufficient evidences and knowledge. Sewjee fulfilled his assignment and confirmed the existence of the practice of female infanticide among the Jhareja tribe of Kattywar.

From Sewjee's letter of 13 August, 1805 the following extract may be read with interest: 'the drowning of the daughters of the Jharejas proceeds from this cause:—in this country there is no one who can marry into the tribe of Jharejas, wherefore they drown their daughters; and there may be annually five to six hundred births among the Jharejas, in as much as the Chieftains of Moorve, Hallar, Gondul, Waghur, Kutch, and Kalikat, are all Jharejas, and are all related, and among relatives it is not customary for Hindoos to marry. Except relatives there are none of their own tribe. Such is the custom of the Jharejas.' From the above it is clear that the social area of choice of partners in marriage was highly circumscribed for the daughters of the Jharejas and their kith and kins and accordingly, they had to suffer social impediments in arranging marriages of their daughters. This fact was duly noticed by Walker who was found to have communicated Sewjee's report to Warden noting that the custom seemed to him limited to the tribe of Jhareja inhabiting Cutch and Kattywar. He wrote in this communication of 1 September, 1805, 'I have not been able to trace its existence [infanticide] among any other people of Gujerat' and at the sametime he doubted that 'human attempt' of the Honorable the Governor in Council would not be successful to any great extent as the people were 'so far removed from British Government.' But this does not mean that Col. Walker ceased to take any initiative in the matter. Rather, he was found to have developed more concentrated attention on the 'interesting subject' of female infanticide. This is evident from one of his communications to Soonderji Sewjee who was asked on 1 September, 1805 to be 'more particular' to report details of every circumstance relative to the inhuman custom. *Loss of*

five to six hundred innocent children per year was no trifling matter to him and he remarked to Sewjee that if these children were allowed to survive, they could 'contribute so much to increase the population and the consequent prosperity of the country.' He urged upon Sewjee to spell out more particulars relevant to this horrid situation and in good name of Sewjee's own religion he must help his European administrators to inflict final blow to such a barbarous habit. Walker added in his letter to Sewjee, 'this custom is the more extraordinary and reprehensible as it is expressly forbiddden by the Hindoo laws, and in the *Brahma Bywant Pooran* is called a great crime—in the Pooran it being written that killing even a foetus is a criminal as killing a Brahmin.' Sewjee was again reminded that they must labour hard 'to put a stop to such a barbarous custom' in remembering the memorable service of Right Honorable Mr. J. Duncan. While in charge of Benaras he once made a heroic effort to abolish such inhuman custom practised by another group of native Indians, namely the *Rajkoomars* in 1789 by getting the people to sign an agreement, by which 'anyone who committed this crime should be expelled from the tribe, and social ostracism he would surely face.' Walker was extremely eager to be acquainted with the actual condition prevailing in the contemporary Jhareja society and he desired very much to rouse Sewjee's spirit against the ill-fated custom with the inspiring episode of a Britisher who genuinely fought for the well-being of Sewjee's own country people.

Col. Walker continued his all out drive against that lamentable practice for about one and half year more since his initial action through Sewjee. That his endeavour in this direction was worthwhile is evident from the official record of 3 April, 1807 in which Bombay Government recommended Walker for his actions so far executed amongst the Jharejas. His constructive dealings with the Moorve and other Chieftains of Kattywar were approved. But any details of such actions and dealings within September 1805 and April 1807 are unfortunately not given in the source book of the *Selections* (1856). Nevertheless, it is needless to mention that Col. Walker definitely embarked upon a difficult task in laying his hands on a very delicate but complicated social usage of a native group of western India. Infanticide-practising people of the area were the product of an orthodox feudal society and age-old approval of the society for

infanticide was in their favour for generations together. Various social, religious, economic and above all psychological factors continued to interplay in making the custom of child-killing ingrained in their life. Therefore, it was ostensibly not an easy and comfortable job for a British administrator like Col. Walker who dared to root out such old custom within a stipulated time of short span. A great risk was involved indeed and yet Col. Walker did not hesitate to take a determinate stand against native sentiments and likings for female infanticide.

Subsequent events which have been marshalled below, show Col. Walker's unabating zeal and perseverance in his assigned task. In spite of spontaneous and strenuous opposition created by the local Jhareja Chiefs and their inferior subjects he was crowned with remarkable success. He may be rightly declared as the chief artichet of anti-infanticide movements which prolonged for long *fifty years* in that distracted country of Gujarat to bring ultimately momentous changes in the social and mental make-up of the Jharejas and other Rajpoots. Col. Walker acted as the master-brain behind Government's consistent policy of firm administration of social evil of female infanticide which was still thriving in the native Rajpoot societies of Western India.

By the middle of 1807 a new development took place. Service of one *Penguel Sing* was placed at the disposal of the Resident as Sing had good acquaintance and influence with the Chieftains and Bhoomias of that division of Kattywar called Hallar, which was by then principally inhabited by the caste of Rajpoots, called Jharejas. Like Sewjee his principal task was to collect detailed information on this abominable custom and its extent and prevalence. This appointment only highlights the slowed and unsatisfactory progress Walker could make through the good office of Soonderji Sewjee against immemorial custom of female infanticide confirmed by Jhareja's prejudice and family pride. Throughout the later half of 1807 Walker continued tremendous efforts to make a positive win over the orthodox psychology of the people. He had to contact almost all influential Chieftains of the locality to convince them government's plan of actions against the custom of infanticide. In spite of 'strenuous opposition' Walker with his dynamic interference and profuse administrative power could ultimately penetrate the hardest shell of 'prejudice and family pride' of the Jharejas and other Rajpoots. He was amply rewarded when the Jhareja Chieftains

themselves in January 1808 renounced for all generations of future the horrible usage of female infanticide. Almost three long years Walker took to win the first round of the battle that he himself waged with all seriousness against the inhuman social custom in question.

An important and substantial document was submitted to the Honorable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, by Col. Walker on 15 March, 1808. This document contains a most fascinating history related to *the origin of infanticide* and its prevalence amongst the Jharejas. Origin was thought to be not remote than 500 years. This historical despatch summaries Walker's scholastic administration of and masterly dealing with the serious problem associated with death of female child in utter infancy. The document is really a mine of information storing multiple sociological facts and figures about the Jhareja Rajpoots and their most barbarous social practice which 'ever owed' its existence either to the wickedness or weakness of human nature.'

Regarding the origin of the institution of infanticide which was fortified by the 'force of sentiments' an interesting legendary tale was encountered among the Jharejas. The traditional story reveals that in bygone days a powerful Raja of Jhareja caste once desired his *Rajgor* or family Brahmin to affiancé his beautiful daughter to a prince of desert and rank equal to her own. Accordingly, the Rajgor travelled over many countries without discovering a Chief who possessed the requisite qualities, for where wealth and power were combined, personal accomplishments and virtue were defective and vice versa. Rajgor reported to Raja about his unfruitful mission and that made him naturally very worried. But family pride stood on the way to accept any match for his daughter from families having 'inferior rank and perfection.' The legend as recorded by Walker, continues to say that while Raja was in complete despair and full of affliction his Rajgor advised him to put his daughter in death lest she remained unmarried to cause disgrace and censure for royal family. Raja resisted such horrible counsel in the name of Shastras and their religious teachings which forbid categorically destruction of any living body by will. But the Rajgor was at length successful to 'remove Raja's scruples by consenting to load himself with the guilt, and to become in his own person

responsible for all the consequences of the sin. Accordingly, the princess was put to death, and female infanticide was from that time practised by the Jharejas.' This is in all the background of the beginning of the atrocious practice, but this brief event is undoubtedly inadequate and unsatisfactory to explain 'the grave history of a transaction involving the fate of a numerous portion of the human race.'

Walker formulated further that the Jharejas being the ancient dwellers of Sind, were by traditionary accounts, extended at one period, under different denominations, over a great part of Persia. Sind was in the past the prized object to the fanatical *Khalifs* who succeeded to the power and authority of Mohamed and as the 'conversion of infidels' was the sacred and ostensible object of these conquerers, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Persia and Sind were obliged to embrace the Mohamedan faith. 'It is probable that the custom of Infanticide amongst the Jharejas was consequence resulting from the Mohamedan conquest of Sind.' He continued to say that as a result, the inhabitants of major part of Sind (who were undoubtedly Rajpoots before that event), the Jharejas were deprived of the usual means of disposing of their daughters in marriage. This event or some occurrence of a similar kind in the history of these tribes which interrupted their intercourses and their ancient habits, must have arisen and had been sufficiently powerful to introduce the strange custom of infanticide. As a matter of fact 'the Jharejas, finding themselves suddenly surrounded by tribes who had embraced a new faith, and precluded thereby from marrying their daughters to those amongst whom they were formerly accustomed to contract matrimonial engagements, may under such circumstances, have preferred the expedient suggested, and encouraged by supersition, of destroying their female offspring.'

Walker went on in his observations to state that the Jharejas 'may have adopted this dreadful expedient in preference to the sin of rearing their daughters in a state of celibacy, or of exposing themselves to the disgrace which would be incurred by incontinency; and the policy of their Chiefs may have either concurred in, or invented the delusive responsibility of the Rajgor.'

It is gathered from Walker's despatch in question that the Jharejas maintained their independency in Sind for a long time, and resisted their invaders with spirit and fortitude, but ulti-

mately were obliged to migrate into Cutch and retained their own religion. Walker remarked that before their migration to Cutch, 'the insulated situation of the Jharejas in Sind amongst tribes of different classes from themselves, and the expense and risk that would attend the sending of their daughters to countries where they might be affianced to Rajpoots of a proper descent, had impelled the Jharejas to have recourse to Infanticide.' He noted again that 'in subsequent times, when the migration of the Jharejas into Kutch and Gujerat, inhabited by Rajpoots, offered abundance of husbands for their daughters, and removed the plea for destruction, *the custom had been established*, and was considered as one of their inalienable right.'

It may be surmised that it was with a sense of superiority of a martial race the Jharejas came to settle in Cutch and Gajarat and as they came from a distant country and had many foreign and strange habits, and their *Devee* or household god was different from the worship of the other Rajpoots among whom they established their forced settlement under the threat of Muslim rule, the Jharejas nourished their sense of distinction and superiority in dealing with the early settlers of Cutch and Gujarat. They became more and more arrogant and overbearing in deciding the marriage-fate of their daughters in this new country. In whatsoever the practice of Infanticide was introduced, the contemporary social and political situations in their new habitat must be given due weightage to explain the peculiar manner and habit exhibited by the Jharejas.

The Jhareja Chieftains were found to have configured their arguments for female infanticide in this line that this custom deprived them of much care, vexation, and expense and the same had been so long in existence that the heinousness of the crime was altogether lost sight of in its antiquity. Accordingly, the motive that led to destruction of girls in their infancy might have originated in the 'desire of diminishing the cares and expenses attending a numerous family.' Most significant was their social attitude in expressing *aversion* to relinquish a barbarous custom which they conceived 'to attach renown to their caste, and to distinguish it above all the other Rajpoots, in this quarter at least. Thus, it is clear that ideal notion of superiority, pride, and expensive status played the most vital role to influence the social-psychological behaviour of the Jhareja Rajpoots in favour of infanticide. Again, apathy and indiffer-

ence shown by the rest of the Rajpoot families other than the Jharejas, and the influential Brahmins who were numerous in the country, towards this inhuman practice had a decisive impact to make the Jharejas more and more devoted to the criminal act of infant killing within their families. Public opinion and protest remained muffled to encourage additionally the Jharejas in their peculiar habit. Societal censure and denouncement never raised any compulsory strictures upon the feudal vanity and arrogance of the Jharejas so as to rectify their abominable custom. Rather, most unfortunately the other Rajpoots appeared to have countenanced the practice 'not only by intermarrying their daughters with the Jharejas, but by allowing them to become the instruments of murdering their own offspring'. This detestable usage of killing daughters once found its best expression in Jhareja's common language as *Deekre marne ne chal* (custom of killing daughters) and *Nanee dekree marne ne chal* (custom of killing young daughters).

Truely the Jharejas never showed any hesitation or diffidence in admitting the customary usage of infanticide and to the male Jharejas the issue of infanticide was always exclusively a feminine subject and no man should have any business to bother about the same. Under the circumstances, it was no wonder that the other Rajpoots of the area should have an apathetic attitude towards such feminine affair like the Jhareja males. When they attempted before Col. Walker to palliate their want of sensibility, by pleading in the immediate usage of the Jharejas, and the impropriety of interfering in those of the same people, the other Rajpoots and Brahmins exercised, no doubt, some lame excuses only to avoid commitments and embarrasments. They were socially obligated to the Jharejas of rank and wealth in various ways and naturally they were not in a position to take any stand which might jeopardise their mutual interconnections and other prerogatives.

Nevertheless, Walker could gather from *Wassonjee Eswerjee*, a Nagar Brahman who was the *Vukeel* of the Jhareja Raja of Gondul Talooka that the methods of killing of female infants were application of opium on the nipple of mother's breast or placement of the naval string on the mouth of the infant immediately after birth. Common method was, of course, to give opium to the new-born daughters. It appears to be the most convenient

way for the common Jharejas. Another method was to throw the new-born daughter into a vessel of milk immediately after birth. *Dhood Pillana* (to give milk for drink) was the naive expression of the father who wished to destroy his daughter right at the nursery. Chieftains of Rajpoot and Jallia explained that no merit or demerit should be attached to the act of *Dhood Pillana* or any other cruel method, but more respectable was to destroy the daughters by any means. Exception was for the fathers only who, if wished, could preserve daughters against all criticisms and difficulties. Their wishes were the last determinant to be challenged by any one, and even mother had absolutely no say in this context. Rather, reports are there to show that many mothers killed their daughters by themselves only to feel honoured in doing a very essential and traditional duty towards their respective femaily. Complete neglect of the newborn girl babies assured their death without the need of actual violence. Such was the ill-fate of the Jhareja daughters.

Regarding disposal of dead body it is known that usually the female attendants (*Dai*) of the family buried the dead child in Kattywar but in Cutch the same was the function of the domestic Rajgor who used to receive a coin equivalent in value to one-third of a rupee and a meal. Female Rajgor was principally the executioner of the female infant in Cutch. Death of a daughter was generally viewed by the Jharejas as an infallible consequence after its birth and it was considered to be an event of such insignificance that a Jhareja was seldom appraised of it. It was attended by no ceremony and publicity was avoided. Natural affection for daughter-child was overpowered by the continued influence of orthodox habits and prejudices, strengthened by little selfish views of economy and of domestic advantage.

To ascertain the number of females who perished annually from infanticide Walker made a through inquiry amongst the Jhareja families. Number of total Jhareja families was estimated at 1,25,000 and the number of female infants yearly destroyed was 20,000. These are the base-line figures which satisfied the local administrators in absence of any regular census enumeration at that period. In his attempt Jharejas of Kattywar and Cutch could not be counted reliably but the names and number of Jhareja families inhabiting Hallar and Muchoo Kanta districts of Kathiawar were available to Walker.

List of families of the different Tribes of Jhareja of Hallar & Muchoo Kanta districts.

1. Jam Zadeh	40	9. Lakanee	100	17. Happa	100
2. Hurdel	500	10. Kunderya	100	18. Khumanee	100
3. Doongurane	100	11. Ummar	100	19. Kana	200
4. Seesungeea	100	12. Bharanee	100	20. Rao	400
5. Kubeer	100	13. Bhananee	50	21. Bulach	100
6. Rewanee	100	14. Amrun	500	22. Others	500
7. Weebanee	500	15. Dil	600		
8. Moranee	500	16. Halla	100		
					total:
					5390

It is also known that the annual number of infanticide in the peninsula of Gujarat amounted to as many as 5000. Apart from his own estimation Walker gathered from well informed sources that the number of actual infanticides which annually occurred in Hallar and Muchoo Kanta districts was between 1000 and 1100 and in Cutch about 2000.

In the background of such horrid developments, pleasing instances are there to show many Jhareja fathers who did save their daughters even at the ruin of their personal fame and standing. It is reported that the convert descendants of Jharejas in Sind had already discontinued the practice. The families of *Bulach, Botton, Sar Kubur Kotee* etc. of 22 Jhareja families¹ had since discontinued infanticide. In this context influence of *Shravuk Banians*, followers of Jaina over a few of Jharejas was supposed to cause a notable change in their outlook on the custom. Again, past history of the Jhareja *Mokajee* of Anundgur, one of the Bhyad of the Gondul Chief was made known to highlight the interesting case of preservation of his four daughters (who were later married to the Chiefs of Drangdra, Wudwan, Limree and Wankeer) under the sanction of *Koombajee*, the late Chief of Gondul, in his capacity of Teelat or head of the family. *Mokajee* was a follower of Saint *Kubeer* (Kabir). The Chief of Kursura was the next example of a Jhareja respectability who brought up his daughter to maturity and married her to *Wujee Sing*. This venture of his part was very largely due to fabulous wealth he received from an Arab Jemadar and the same he spent to cover the high expenses incurred in his daughter's marriage. To cite another case, *Dadajee*, the brother of the then Chief of Rajkot had also preserved his daughter out of

principle and duty. *Hootajee*, the Chieftain of Kotara Sunganee also preserved his daughter. Jhareja Chief of Mallia also saved his daughter. It is clear from above that those Jharejas who were enjoying high social status and riches could only dare to flout the age-old social custom of infanticide without fearing public censure and criticism. Affluent Jhareja families being the leaders of the society had no ostensible hindrances to show such courage and progressive behaviour, but the common, poor Jharejas remained the prey of the ruling forces of sentiments, customs and orthodox mentality.

Regarding *inter marrying groups* it is observed that the Jharejas in general carefully selected their wives from the respectable Rajpoot families living near or far with first preference for the *Jhalas*. They used to marry daughters of the *Jhala*, *Waghela*, *Gohel*, *Choorasama*, *Pirmar*, *Surweya*, *Soda*, *Jetwa*, *Walla* and *Wadul* tribes and they gave in marriage such legitimate daughters as they could preserve to any of the above groups, but invariably endeavoured to affiance them to highest rank or tribe equivalent to their own social status. Interesting to note, *illegitimate daughters were never given in marriage to Rajpoots, but were bestowed on persons of Muslim faith or on Hindus of some inferior caste*. It is also known that the Jharejas or any Rajpoot never married a woman bearing the same family name. Another notable fact was that the women, from whatever caste, destroyed their children when married to the Jharejas and never did the same when married to any other. This signifies the strong dislike of infant daughters by the Jharejas and in which mothers had no say but to subscribe to express wishes of husbands and their kins.

Concubinage was also common among the Jharejas and no social ban or caste-restrain was in action against the formation of such sex-liasons. It had been recorded that daughters born of *Rakhelees* or mistresses were attended with little expense or publicity and the motives which prompted the Jharejas to destroy their legitimate female infants remained unoperative for the daughters of the *Rakhelees*. Some notable instances may be cited here. *Rao Lukput*, the grandfather of the then Sovereign of Cutch had a daughter by a *Rakhelee* and she was later married to *Damajee Gaekwar*. This sort of marriage among the Marathas was considered as an inferior form of marital union, which was named as *Khanda*

Laggun (a marriage celebrated by the proxy of a sword). Children born of this marriage were illegitimate. As a matter of fact political reasons were behind Rao Lukput's decision to marry his Rakhelee daughter with Damajee. In another occasion, uncle of Rao Lukput who had a very beautiful daughter by a Rakhelee gave his daughter in marriage with the King of Sind, a Mohammedan.

These incidences reveal immediately how the Jharejas treated their illegitimate daughters of their mistresses. They appeared 'to spare them from a contemptuous opinion of their inferiority than from humanity.' As these children had no honourable status in the caste-society of the Jharejas, they were disposed off any how from Jhareja society. Sometimes pride and prejudice of a Jhareja made him occasionally so fanatic that infanticide for Rakhelee-born female infants was positively encouraged.

Another important social development is recorded here. *Rakhelees or mistresses performed suttee with deceased Jharejas* and the same was rarely followed by their wives. To cite an instance it may be observed that on the death of *Rao Laka*, grandfather of *Rao Raidhun*, present Chief of Kutch (1808 A.D.) as many as fifteen Rakhelees burnt themselves in the pyre of their deceased lord. Of these fifteen women *two were Muslims*, one Siddeen and the rest was Hindus of different castes. Most significant fact is that none of *Laka's* lawful wives sacrificed herself in this occasion. But it was also true that the Jharejas wives or mistresses were at liberty to follow the custom of *suttee* or to abstain from it and 'neither disgrace nor opprobrium is attached to those who may choose to survive.' In the district of Hulwad (Hallar) the wives of the lowest castes invariably practised *suttee* and this became a custom symbolising a lowly act appropriate for the wives of inferior castes only. Thus, motive for *suttee* could not catch the mind of the wives of superior Jhareja castes. Jhareja women did not prefer *suttee* to give any importance to a custom practised by the inferior castes only of the area. Those who actually sacrificed their lives among the Jharejas did the same perhaps to avoid dis-honour, misery, insecurity, neglect, and malhandling in perpetual absence of their protectors and supporters. Otherwise, *Suttee of Muslim and non-Hindu woman (mistresses) would appear as a paradox*. Bereavement of any Jhareja lord signified, no doubt,

immediate but decisive wane in prestige, pride, affluent living and dignified social position of his mistresses who lived as nothing but some interested hanger-on, Under the circumstances, it is understandable why the Rakhelee-women, irrespective of their religious affiliation, resorted to such horrid practice of *suttee*. Psychological repression and loss of nerve seem to be some driving force behind such excess in *Suttee*.

Walker learnt from responsible sources that the infanticide custom of the Jharejas was imitated by the *Jetwa* Rajpoots who ruled over Baroda. They observed the same in complete silence and secrecy. Family pride and its preservation was perhaps the main contention for which the female infants were destroyed. He wrote that 'the Ranas of Poorbunder have had no grown up daughters for more than 100 years and this would be sufficient evidence against them.'

It has been remarked that the Jharejas were not pure Hindus and knew very little of the ordinances of the Brahmins, yet they believed in all their legends. Although the religion of the Jharejas might have little influence in preventing infanticide, the same certainly never authorised the people to kill female children at infancy. It is quite interesting that when *Rajgor* was made answerable for the irreligious act of infanticide by the king of the legend Jhereja's sense of 'sin' associated with the crime of infanticide is apparent.

Walker reported that this custom was also prevalent in past among some tribes in Bengal. Infanticide-practising people were identified among *Rhatore* Rajpoots of Jeypoor and Jodhpur, but there was some doubt in the authenticity of the occurrence. It was presumed that *Jhuts* and *Mewats* (sects of Musalmans) practised the custom. Walker was noticed by one *Nizam-ood-deen Hussain* that the *Jhuts* of Bhurtpore were by that time in habit of putting to death their daughters at the moment of their birth, by opium, or by strangling. Motive was to remain safe from the disgrace that would fall upon them in marrying their daughters to persons of inferior rank. From the same motive *Mewats* also killed their infant-daughters. The *Jhut* Governors of Hatras (thirty miles east of Agra) and *Jhut Mursan* were similarly believed to have the custom. It was further noted that some of the *Rhatore*, the *Haree* of Boondie Kata, the *Waish* in the Poorub, the *Jhuts* in Hindoostan and some of the *Kutahwas* of Jeypoor and

other Rajpoot tribes also had the custom of infanticide. Traditional motive that had led to the introduction of infanticide amongst so many people of Hindustan was still not fully known to the foreign administrators.

To explain the motives behind killing of infant-daughters immediately after birth the factors like pride, avarice, the cares of family, the disgrace that would attend the misconduct of their women, the difficulty of establishing them in life, and chances of exposing their daughters to ill-treatment after marriage were invariably mentioned. But longdrawn enquiry into the practice of infanticide of the Jharejas enabled Walker to realise that 'they followed infanticide from mean and interested motives only' as against their pretences on the inviolability of the practice as a custom of the caste. In his enquiry sometimes he had to encounter duplicity of many natives, especially by no less important elite of the locality than *Jehajee*, Chief of Moorve and his Vukeel who tried to suppress those real facts which were needed so urgently by the alien administrator in evaluating the objective situation in the contemporary Jhareja society.

On the otherhand, the assistance he got in his missionary effort from *Wittul Rao Dewanjee*, the commander of the Gackwar army and *Wassonjee Eswurjee*, the Vukeel (minister) of the Gondul Chief was extremely useful in making Walker's mission a success. Through their good offices a deed of the most solemn, effectual and building nature could be executed in renouncing for ever the practice of infanticide.²

Truely speaking, this engagement paved the way for more efficient handling of the problem in question in subsequent years and this marked also the beginning of a new lease of life for the infant daughters of the Jharejas. That such solemn anti-infanticide declaration could be acted and agreed upon in less than three years shows the efficacy of the measures adopted by Walker in suppressing the evil act. This event may be described as the most significant development of the decade of 1805-1814. The engagement in question was duly honoured by every Jhareja Chief, except the Jam of Nowanuggur who preferred to take a little more time to reconcile with the contents of the engagement-declaration. Below is the list of all Jhareja Chieftains of rank and every inferior Jhareja Chief who renounced female infanticide in consonance with the Engagement proclaimed in the beginning of 1808.

Name of the Jharejas		Talookas or Villages
(1)		(2)
1.	Jhareja Hoteejee	Kotara Sanganee
2.	„ Dossajee and Koeer	Mallia
	Suttajee	
3.	„ Jehajee	Moorvee
4.	„ Runmulijee and Koeer	Rajkot
	Lakajee	
5.	„ Jam Jessajee	Nowanuggur
6.	„ Runmulijee by Verajee	Sirdhar
	Kooer	
7.	„ Dewajee and Koeer	Gondul
	Nuthoojee	
8.	„ Boput Sing	Dherol
9.	„ Hoteejee	Kursura
10.	„ Suttajee	Jallia
11.	„ Khengarjee	Hurmuteea
12.	„ Jehajee	Kataree
13.	„ Ramsingjee	Amba
14.	„ Kheemajee	Lodeka
15.	„ Dewajee	Paal
16.	„ Morjee	Goureedur
17.	„ Dossajee	Kotaria
18.	„ Khanjee	Wudalee
19.	„ Tejmuljee	Veerwa
20.	„ Khanjee and Bhanjee	Gudka
21.	„ Raising	Shapoor
22.	„ Raojee and Hudoorjee	Kangseealee
23.	„ Phooljee	Drappa
24.	„ Salleyuljee	„
25.	„ Raebjee	„
26.	„ Jejee Rasanjee	„
27.	„ Ramsingjee	„
28.	„ Mayroojee and Koeer	Rajpoor (the Bhyad of Kotara Sanganee)
	Osajee	
29.	„ Bunajee	Barwa
30.	„ Samutjee	Mengee
31.	„ Phoolajee	Seesang
32.	„ Dodajee	„

Name of the Jharejas		Talookas or Villages
(1)		(2)
33.	" Soojajee	Seesang
34.	" Mukunjee	"
35.	" Soorajee	Kuree and Veerpoor
36.	" Pemjee and Wagjee	Dedee Molee
37.	" Kana Mooloo	Salodur Wowree
38.	" " Mota	"
39.	" " Rajkajee	"
40.	" " Punchanjee	"
41.	" " Nuthoojee	"
42.	Koeer Sallajee	"
43.	Rana Sirtanujee	
44.	Kooer Hallajee, Jetwas	

Before Walker could finally get his instrument of engagement against female infanticide accepted by the Jhareja Chieftains and Chiefs certain interesting developments took place to expose the crooked mind of some Jharejas among whom the said *Jehajee* Cheif of Moorve was outstanding. These developments deserve special mentioning in the greater context of anti-infanticide movements initiated in Kattywar. This *Jehajee* offered in a letter of 21 September, 1807 to accede to Walker's wishes, by preserving his daughters, provided Walker would reduce Mallia and restore the village of Hurralla of which he had been deprived by the Gaekwar Government. This letter of Jhareja *Jehajee* of Moorve is classic to expose the selfish and mercenary motives of the people in question. The letter also 'reflected on the pretences of the inviolability of the practice as a custom of the caste'. That the issue of female infanticide could be bargained for recovery of a village or for seeking foreign control over a fellow Jhareja noble is really an unique event. It appears that motives of conveniency and interest would have more influence in inducing them to relinquish the practice than any arguments derived from humanity, morality, or religion'.

In this context it is observed that a series of letters was exchanged between Walker, Soonderji Sewjee and *Jehajee* of Moorve in the month of September, 1807. Walker consistently urged upon Sewjee to deal strongly with the unwilling Jharejas

like the Jehajee and his family and he declared that Jehajee Thakoor must not expect the friendship of the Company if he continued the practice and the relinquishment of the custom of infanticide must be *unconditional*. In one of his letters written to Walker on 20 September 1807 Soonderji Sewijee informed that the mother of the Raja Jehajee and his brothers had represented that 'the relinquishment of female infanticide will be agreed to by us according to the conditions to which Rao Saheb of Kutch and Jam Saheb may agree; before then nothing will be concluded by us'. In his letter to the mother of Jehajee she was appealed to exert her power in persuading her sons to desist from the practice, otherwise serious consequences might develop if Walker was forced to use his army which marched by that time in the vicinity of Moorvee.

Persuasion and threat constituted the policy of Walker in the face of stubborn resistance given by Raja Jehajee in close cooperation with other two stalwart Chieftains namely, Rao Saheb and Jam Saheb. It appears that these three Jharejas of rank and power moved together to foil Company's attempts. A significant alliance was forged by these Jhareja Chieftains to fight every interference made by the Britishers in their native beliefs and practices. Female Infanticide is, thus, found to have raised many other problems beyond the ambit of the Jhareja social life. Emerging new relations between the Indian native Chiefs and the English Power faced a strained situation where the noble cause for suppression of death of infant daughters turned out unfortunately to be a cause for intense conflict and contradiction. Such development was perhaps unprecedented. On October 21, 1807 Jhareja Jehajee wrote to Walker in these lines: 'From motives of friendship the Honorable Company are urging me to preserve my daughters. To this I agree; if the Nowanuggur and Gondul Chiefs agree; if they do not preserve their, I will not do it'. His Highness Jam of Nowanuggur and Rao of Cutch were principally the fountain-sources of the courage shown by Jehajee but Jam and Rao were still to be overpowered fully by Walker.

Under the circumstances it was becoming more and more clear that for a *real* success of his move against the horrid practice Walker would have to win the authority of a Chief of acknowledged rank, weight and superiority like the Rao Saheb of Cutch. Instead approaching and persuading Rao he thought it wiser to make use of a powerful non-Hindu leader of the

locality, namely *Futteh Mahomed* whose authority as the minister of great Rao Saheb in the country was paramount at that time. Definitely this move was very judicious since a non-Hindu should not in general have any love or appreciation of a Hindu custom so prevalent in Mahomed's time, but this action pointed also clearly to a state of affair which was fraught with possible conflict and communal disharmony. *A social custom was becoming an instrument of power-politics.*

Meanwhile, *Futteh Mahomed* was addressed by Walker (28.9.1807) and he was noticed that under the blind influence of prejudice *Jhareja Rajpoots* used to kill female infants just after birth and this cruel practice was no less contrary to the laws of Gospel that it was to the precepts of Koran. *Futteh's* aid and assistance in this respect was solicited. He was also intimated that His Highness Rao Saheb was the senior of all tribes of *Jharejas* and it was highly probable that all this tribe would not hesitate to follow an example set upon them by Rao, the head of the family. *Futteh* might forthwith use his weight and power to convince Rao Saheb. But, suprisingly enough *Futteh* Mohamed Jemader who had a poor social origin as goatsheperd, went against Walker's every hope by giving clever support to the barbarous practice of the Hindu *Jharejas*. *Futteh* made 'an elaborate defence of the practice' under the strong influence of a Nagur Brahmin who was actually the brain behind the answer given by the muslim, illiterate Jemader to christian Walker. *Futteh* was found to have written that 'since the Avatar of Shree Krishna, these people [the *Jharejas*] who are the descendants from the Jadows, have during a period of 4900 years been in the habit of killing their daughters' and accordingly he felt distressed to receive Walker's request. What a wonderful defence in favour of the painful practice of killing female infants was made by a Muslim whose own religion had long ago thoroughly condemned^s such awful custom. The immediate interest which prompted *Futteh* to come out in blank support of female infanticide of the *Jharejas* was balantly exposed in his another communication in which he wrote that 'as the *Jharejas* are the relations and brothers of Maha Rao Saheb, and I am an adherent of his Durbar, it is not proper for me to say anything on the subject to the *Jharejas*'. Thus, *Futteh's* mind was completely exposed and accordingly Walker had to respect the situation where a confluence of mercenary interests of Hindu and

Muslim of rank and superiority of the contemporary Kattywar (Gujarat) took place against a Christian move for a social reform. Such was the curious social and political developments that highlighted the decade in question.

Walker became sanguine that due to uncompromisable attitude of Futteh Mohamed the Jharejas of Cutch who might be regarded as the leaders of Jhareja society of Kathiawar could not be convinced to eschew the barbarous custom forever. Though Futteh's latest communication was of moderate tone it disclosed a delicate political state of affair for which he did not obviously like to incur displeasure of the Jharejas. To understand the real state of affair Walker made an interview with *Koobeerjee Mehata*, Agent of Futteh Mohamed, who happened also to be a brother of Futteh's Dewan. Koobeerjee revealed very interestingly that "the peculiar nature of Futteh Muhamed's situation obliges him to be extremely cautious and conciliatory in his conduct respecting the Jharejas. He professes himself to be a servant of the Rao, and acts accordingly". Moreover, Futteh always desired to keep good and friendly relations with the Chieftains and Chiefs of the Jhareja society only to guard his own interests against his rival *Hunsrajsha*. To him the business of infanticide concerned the Jharejas alone and he personally neither wished to commit nor justify the barbarous practice. Under the circumstances, Walker had to discard his tactics that he designed to use cleverly power and weight of Futteh Mohamed against Jhareja's wicked custom.

By his personel presence amongst the people of Kattywar (Gujarat) Walker attempted always to make the best use of public opinion for and against infanticide. At one hand, continuous pressure and persuasion were kept open for the Jhareja Chief of Moorve and on the other, appeal to the 'humanity and tenderness congenial to' the woman's feeling was repeatedly extended to the mother of the Chief Jehajee. But this move also turned out abortive when the mother of Jehajee solicited excuse by stating 'for many years past none of the Jhareja tribes have ever reared their female offspring'. Several *public Kucherees* (audiences) were organised to make frequent discussions on the demerits of female infanticide. 'The enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature' was strongly exposed in these public gatherings to influence and educate common people. Changes in the age-old sentiment of

the general public started in degrees and more particularly, the news of the engagement signed by some Jhareja Chiefs of rank and power in denouncing the criminal practice produced a slashing impact on the common Jharejas. Walker opined that the Jharejas in general were probably apprehensive that they might expose themselves to some inconvenience and punishment if they continued blind opposition to British power. Traditionary belief favouring infanticide took somewhat a revolutionary transformation due to a constant, positive campaign against the injurious *rationale* of such practice. In this campaign Walker was singularly assisted by *Dewajee* of Gondul who himself set an unique example by preserving several of his daughters. Another dignitary was Jhareja *Dadajee*, Chief of Rajkot, who explained the social condition that was prevailing in the private world of the Jharejas as a whole. His narrative was of immense value to Walker in his strategy of movements amongst the Jharejas. Dadajee informed that many of the Jharejas of Cutch used to preserve their daughters and it was father's explicit wish that assured life of infant daughter after birth. Father's wish 'will be invariably obeyed' and contrary to this mother's natural longing for her new born female child was always subjected to the wish of her husband and/or husband's elderly consanguines and husband's mother. Situation was such that if any father prevailed the daughter concerned must be destroyed without any compunction.

As a matter of fact, illiterate condition of the Jharejas, the confined state of their information and the acquiescence of successive generations had shut their senses to the atrocity of infanticide. Killing of female infant immediately after birth became so much a *mechanical conduct* on the part of the Jharejas that even mothers did not very often bother to appraise Jhareja fathers any birth of daughter. Delivery of female infant was invariably dealt with mercilessly and such brutal act was executed without any compassion or guilt-sense only to keep family tradition continuing. Chief of Rajkot further informed that 'daughters, when put to death, are always buried in the State in which they were born, without undergoing any purification, or being wrapped in any cloth.' He was emphatic to declare that there was no impropriety in Jharejas preserving their daughters. He pointed out again that his race at one time while occupying a country on the other side of Sind was completely

surrounded by the Mohammedans and subsequently were forced to kill their daughters not being able to provide them with husbands and thus the custom of infanticide took root in their social customs. He was of the opinion that Persia was the country which tradition assigned the Jharejas as their residence, and that the word Jam was derived from *Jamshed*, the name of a famous Persian monarch. As a social practice the Jharejas of Cutch used to marry into all the Rajpoot family of Gujarat, of Thurr and Parkur. They desisted from marrying their slaves and they liked to maintain *Rakhelees* even if they did not marry.

What *Dadajee*, Chief of Rajkot, presented above was, indeed, very useful data for Walker to rouse public sentiment and make other Jhareja Chiefs responsive to fresh engagements⁴ against infanticide in line with Jhareja *Dewajee* and Kooer *Nuthoo*, Zemindars of Gondul. This significant development took place in January, 1808. The said engagement was signed by the Jhareja and Jetwa Chiefs in Kattywar, Jhareja *Hatheejee* and Kooer *Bojrajee* of Talook Kotra Sangaganee and Shreemunt Rowashree Sena Khas Khel Shmrshree Bahadoor (Walker). This event ushered a new confidence in Walker who after a good deal of labour could pave the solid foundation of official measures designed specifically for complete suppression of a custom 'as singular as barbarous and as contrary to the general feelings of parents and humanity as ever disgraced the history of man.' In this historical document the Jhareja Chiefs in question declared 'in order of our own good, and out of deference to the Hindoo religion, we and our posterity have given this writing, binding ourselves for perpetuity, that from henceforward we shall not do such a thing [infanticide]. If we do, we shall be considered offenders against the Sirkar. If, in future, any one of our caste people be guilty of this act we shall after expelling him out of caste, punish him'.

The above engagement may be treated as the best reward for enormous labour that Col. Walker rendered in response to the order of Governor of Bombay. That in spite of every hurdle and resistance from the natives he could ultimately persuaded the Jhareja Chiefs of Kattywar to sign the said obligatory engagement against female infanticide was truly a distinguished achievement for Col. Alexander Walker.

By the end of March, 1808 Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay further communicated to Walker that Gaekwar

native Government of Baroda should find out 'best means for obtaining periodical notices of the operation of the obligations, making it also a rule to submit one general statement on the last day of each year, showing how far the amended system has been acted on and observed . . .'. Imposition of punishment in the form of a moderate fine was suggested for every act of violation of the said engagement and the amount thus collected might be given to those Jhareja indigents who remained faithful. This official despatch bears two very significant *directives* which were instrumental in succeeding years to give effect to two very important developments impregnated with far-reaching potency to affect the very mode of living of the Jharejas. Directive for 'one general statement' for a year prepared the essential ground for some systematic *census* of the people in question in near future and directive for collection of fine from the offenders among the jharejas assured the foundation of a substantial *fund* to be used later for some benevolent service. Details of the consequences of these directives would be amply available in the following pages. The despatch of March, 1808 signalizes a *new perspective* in British Administration in Kathiawar by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

For the rest of the year of 1808 Walker kept a close watch on the Jharejas and their attitude towards the futility of the engagements against female infanticide. *Sewram Sudashen*, the native Agent in Kattywar was especially engaged by him to ascertain 'the number of females which he might learn had been preserved in the Jhareja families, in consequence of the engagements for refraining from infanticide.' In December, 1808 Hon. J. Duncan, Governor in Council, Bombay, received intimation from Walker that adequate invigilation was going on in Kattywar and a very few instances of the crime could be recorded. Even the Bhyad of Dherol being same Jhareja *Jessajee* of Jallia who killed three daughters before the engagement was executed, did not repeat the practice. In a country where this infanticide act had never been considered criminal or disgraceful and where every person avowed it without scruple or compunction, the circumstances of three infanticide only being ascertained meanwhile tended to prove the beneficial nature of the engagements in an improved situation. As a matter of fact, the list that was submitted by *Sudashen* to notice those Jhareja persons who had respectively preserved and sacrificed their female offspring since

the engagements bespeaks the importance of the reformatory actions taken by Walker. From this inquisitive list^s of Sewram Sudashen which he gathered from *Wittoba Dewanjee* many facts of utmost interest are obtained to indicate the trend of the anti-infanticide behaviour of the Jharejas in the post-engagement period. The facts are summarised below.

<i>Talook</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>No. of female child since engagements.</i>	<i>No. of female child preserved since engagements</i>	<i>Name of Jhareja Heads in whose family such preservation was made</i>
RAJKOT	Rajkot	—	1	Dadajee
	Kotaria	1	1	Dessajee
	Gowreedur	1	normal death	Moorjee
KURSURA	Kursura	2	2	Rahdoojee, Bopoojee
	Radhur	1	1	Dessuljee
DHEROL	Jallia	1	normal death	Jessajee
	Dherol	1	1	Wuktajee
	Sunoosura	4	4	Mukjee and his brother Suggaramjee, Bharajee
	Sea	2	2	Nuthoojee and Kunter- jee
	Rajepor	2	2	Kursunjee and Dahjee
	Jabeeroo	1	1	Dessajee
	Jaiwoojarra	1	1	Jettajee
	Rodea	1	1	Puttabhoy
	Deerukdur	1	1	Veerajee
	Dangur	2	2	Togajee and Vuzoobhoy
All Talooks :		Total :	20	

Thus, it is definitely known that as many as *twenty* female-infants could be well traced alive by the end of 1808. These

infants varied from 3 months to 24 months in age and half of these female-infants was within 6 months of their life time. This statistics with all its limitation remained as a positive proof to bear out the revolutionary success of Walker and his native officials. Figure for surviving female-infants is, nodoubt, little, but it points to the beginning of such a vigorous social-psychological development of the people in question that can never be measured in digits.

The account furnished by Wittoba Dewanjee through Sudashen records three fresh cases of child murder. Culprits were Jhareja *Khanjee* of Wuralee villages and Jhareja *Nuthoojee*, the legitimate son of Dewajee, the Raja of Gondul and a less known Rajpoot. These three instances of female infanticide only confirmed the fact that the Jharejas as a whole had yet to disengage themselves *fully* from the influence of a malevolent social usage. These acts of killing of female infants add a disgraceful commentary on the promise made by the Jhareja leaders and people of rank a couple of months ago. Nevertheless, the Company had every right to feel justified in the actions taken by a competent officer like Col. Walker who accumulated in the meantime more encouraging news from Jhareja *Jeytajee* of Moorve to show that Jhareja *Moorjee* of Dherol, *Janajee* of Nagrawar, *Ramabhoy* of Rajkot and *Sethanee* of Dherol had in the said period also preserved four more female infants. Thus, having such significant and salutary achievement within a short margin of time Mr. Warden, Secretary to Govt. of Bombay, recorded officially Government's genuine hope for the 'prospects afforded of extirpating from the Peninsula of Guzerat the barbarous and long prevalent practice of female infanticide.'

On December 25, 1808 Walker happened to remark to Hon. Duncan that 'the reform has completely taken root' as he himself in his second and recent visit to Kattywar came to learn that as many as thirty two Jharejas had preserved their newly born female children. At his camp in Dherol many Jharejas attended his Kutcheree from neighbouring areas *with newly born female children right in their arms*. With the unique experience of such parade of Jhareja fathers with their daughters Walker visualised rightly the happy future of the Jhareja women and he remarked that 'when once the natural emotions of parental affection have resumed their sway, it may reasonably be expected that this cruel and barbarous prejudice will be condemned'. The names of

the Jharejas who visited Walker at Dherol Camp on his return visit and who recorded preservation of their respective female-infants are given below for ready reference.

1. Kooer Wuktajee
2. Dada Abajee
3. Dada Jetajee, of Dherol Bhyad
4. Jhareja Jettajee, of Jywa
5. „ Poonjajee, of Leala
6. „ Mukoondjee, of Sunoosura
7. „ Mailajee, of Sunoosura
8. „ Moolojee, of Roopee Anna
9. „ Halajee, of Dangur
10. „ Maroojee, of Wagoodur
11. „ Banjee, of Gooletaan
12. „ Puchanjee, of Leala
13. „ Dossajee, of Leala
14. „ Jaymuljee, of Rajpoora
15. „ Jugoojee, of Megpoor
16. „ Baijee, of Veperdee
17. „ Bharajee, of Veperdee
18. „ Ajebjee, of Anundpore
19. „ Hallajee, of Ajamchera
20. „ Dossajee, of Bajorka
21. „ Khandajee, of Babara
22. „ Dhooljee, of Tunole
23. „ Jatajee, of Dagarah
24. „ Moolojee, of Sunsoora
25. „ Togojee, of Dangra
26. „ Huldorejee, of Navejee
27. „ Juktajee, of Navejee
28. „ Jehajee, of Rajkot
29. Kooer Dadajee, of Rajkot Bhyad
30. „ Dossajee, of Kotaria, Moorve
31. Jhareja Jeeajee, the Raja of Morvee
32. „ Jeesajee, of Jallia

In this occasion Walker was found to have made gifts of cash money to seven Jhareja fathers in high appreciation of the good act they performed in preserving life of many female infants. This benevolent gesture on the part of the Government's Agent in Kattywar was perhaps designed to make a lucrative

precedence for the Jharejas in general of the area. Fortunate recipients were *Jhareja Wuktajee* (Rs. 300), *Jhareja Bowajee's* brother (Rs. 200), *Jhareja Jetajee* (Rs. 150), *Jhareja Dada Walojee* (Rs. 150), *Jhareja Mailajee* (Rs. 150), *Jhareja Poona-jajee* (Rs. 200), and *Jhareja Jettajee* (Rs. 200). A total of Rs. 1400 was disbursed to create a friendly and sympathetic relationship with the Jharejas of Kattywar at one hand, and to dispel mistrust and/or misunderstanding of the natives on the other. Alexander Walker was, thus, successful in his mission to achieve a rare distinction in the social and political history of Gujarat of the first decade of the 19th century.

In the decade of 1805-1814 many crucial developments were effected in accomplishing a very difficult task related to the act of suppression of female infanticide among the Jharejas. Walker did almost a miracle when he moved the people in question to eschew for ever the evil practice. Several engagements that were obligatory in nature were executed and almost all the Jhareja Chieftains, Chiefs and commoners declared emphatically in these engagements against the continuation of the barbarous and harmful social custom. Only the Chief of Nowanuggur maintained in the very beginning stubborn resistance to make contrast with other Jharejas. He continued for a considerable time to play the role of chief opposition leader to foil the reformatory moves of the Company. He was the main architect of the plan of resistance and was also the source of inspiration for many unwilling Jharejas like *Jhareja Jehajee* of Morvee, His Highness Rao Saheb, Raja of Cutch etc., who did not want to comply with the earnest request of Walker and his Government for making complete annihilation of the atrocious custom. *Jam Jessajee* constituted really a trouble-spot and as his weight, rank and superiority as the Chief of Nowanuggur could never be trifled with, no serious steps could be promptly taken. It has been found that Chief Jam did never intend to lend his service to the Company in campaigning against immoral infanticide and kept the issue of female infanticide as his private and family matter. But, in spite of their best efforts Royal family of Nowanggur could not maintain for long its exclusive position in the Jhareja society when other notable Jhareja Chieftains and Rajas began one by one to accept Company's request to stop once for all infanticide by signing the deed of engagement which was solemn, effectual and binding in nature. Thus, the beginning of 1812 saw a remarkable

development in the affair of the Chief of Nowanuggur who was then found to have signed an engagement⁶ against the practice of female infanticide. It seems that Jam Saheeb of Nawanuggur could lately perhaps smell near-end of his engagements in matters other than infanticide and imminent intervention of British army under the leadership of Col. Walker. Use of superior forces of the Company created very likely a real threat to the native Chief of Nowanuggur. Jam Saheb could no longer dare to challenge supreme authority of British Government.

The engagement was signed by Jam Shree Jessajee on 25 February 1812 and Shreemunt Rao Shree Sena Khas Khel Shumshere Bahadoor (Walker) received the same on behalf of the Honorable East India Company Bahadoor. It was promised by Jam Saheeb that 'I, my brothers, nephews, etc. all the Jharejas of my Talook, passed a writing to the Sirkar, binding ourselves not to kill daughters... I do hereby state, that out of deference to the Hindoo religion, I and my posterity... bind ourselves in perpetuity, that henceforward we shall not do this act, if we do, we shall be considered offenders against the Sirkar... Perpetual securities, given for the fulfilment of the above writing, are *Bharote Meroo Mehta*, of Veerungaum, and *Bharote Ramdas Nuthoo*, of Julsum, who shall be answerable for it. This a true writing'.

The last formidable hurdle against intensive campaign among the native Jharejas for eliminating fully a custom so repugnant to every 'principle of reason and natural affection' was satisfactorily won by Walker and his Government. Along with the grand success over the Chief of Nowanuggur anti-infanticide campaign took firmly its grass-root in the traditional society of the Jharejas of Gujarat. Alexander Walker being a Christian in faith immortalized himself as a champion in ameliorating a dreadful custom of the Jharejas who had the same for about five hundred years at a stretch.

REFERENCE-NOTES :

1. The following Jhareja families in the country discontinued Infanticide.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Baluch | 12. Mor |
| 2. Bottan | 13. Rao |
| 3. Sar Kubur | 14. Jessa |
| 4. Kotee | 15. Dessa |
| 5. Ubra | 16. Danrar |
| 6. Jarria | 17. Dettera |
| 7. Guffun | 18. Joreea |
| 8. Murassee | 19. Adreea |
| 9. Mokara | 20. Verak |
| 10. Kaya | 21. Kunerde |
| 11. Retreea | 22. Veem |

2. The following is the text of the agreement executed in renouncing female infanticide :

"Whereas the Honorable English Company and Anundrao Gaekwar Sena Khas Khel Shumshere Bahadoor, having set forth to us the dictates of the Shasters, and the true faith of the Hindoos, as well as the 'Birmhaway Wurtuk Pooran' declares the killing of children to be a heinous sin,—it being written that it is as great an offence to kill an embryo as a Brahmin; that to kill one woman is as great a sin as killing a hundred Brahmins; that to put one child to death is as great a transgression against the divine laws as to kill a hundred women; and that the perpetrator of this sin shall be damned to the hell Kule Sootheeta, where he shall be infested with as many maggots as he may have hairs on his body, be born again a leper and debilitated in all his members : We, Jhareja Dewajee and Kooer Nuthoo, Zumindars of Gondul (the custom of *Female Infanticide* having long prevailed in our caste), do hereby agree, for ourselves and for our offspring, as also we bind ourselves in behalf of our relations and their offspring, for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindoo faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice : and, in default of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sirkars. Moreover, should any one in future commit that offence, we shall expel him from our caste, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the Shasters."

3. Extract from *Koran* showing anti-infanticide tenet for the Muslims :

The law of Mahomed also put a stop to the inhuman custom which had been long practised by Pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty in providing for them or else to avoid the displeasure and disgrace which would follow if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour; the birth of a daughter being for these reasons reckoned a

great misfortune, and the death of one as great a happiness. The manner of their doing this is differently related. Some say, that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert; but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became six years old, and then said to her mother, "Perfume her and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers"; which being done, the father led her to a well, or a pit dug for that purpose, and, having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong as he stood behind, and then, filling up the pit, levelled it with a rest of the ground. But others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink where of she was to be delivered; and if the child happened to be a daughter they threw it into the pit, but if a son they saved it alive. This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendeh, the former using to bury their daughters alive in Mount Abu Dalama, near Mecca. In the time of ignorance, while they use this method to get rid of their daughters, Sasaa, grandfather to the celebrated poet Al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; and hereto Al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalifs of the family of Meya, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead"; for which expression, being censured, he excused himself by alleging the following words of the Koran: "He who saved a soul alive shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind." The Arabs in the murdering of their children were far from being singular, the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians that they brought up all their children; and by the laws of Lycurgus no child was allowed to be brought up without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death with impunity.

The wicked practice is condemned by the Koran in several passages, one of which, as some commentators judge, may also condemn another custom of the Arabians altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz. the sacrificing of their children to their idols, as was frequently done, in particular in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

(Source : SALE'S Koran, Preliminary Discourse, p. 174, 1801,—edited by T. Maiden).

4. The text of the engagement in question runs as follows :

In the month of January 1808, the following Engagement against Infanticide was obtained by Lieutenant Colonel A. WALKER from the JHAREJA and JETWA CHIEFS in Kattywar :—

Engagement passed by JHAREJA HATHEEJEE and KOOR BOJRAJEE, of Talooka Kotra Sangagane, to SHREEMUNT ROWASHREE SENA KHAS KHEL SHUMSHREE BAHADOOR

and the HONORABLE COMPANY, dated Poush Shoodh 5th, Sumvut 1864 (A.D. 4th January 1808).

From the commencement it was a custom in our Jhareja caste not to preserve the lives of daughters. On this both Governments, after expounding the Shaster of this subject, and pointing out to us the way of the Hindoo religion, stated that it is written in the "Brumhu Vywurtk Pooran," (a sacred work,) that whoever commits this act, his sin is great; that is, it is equal to "Gurbhu Hutya," the killing of an infant in the womb,) and "Brumhu Hutya," (the killing of a Brahmin,) so that the killing of 100 Brahmins is equal to killing one woman, and the killing of 100 women is equal to that of one child; but in this two sins are committed, viz. the killing of woman and child. The punishment written for this sin is, that he who commits it will remain in "Ruvruwadik Kuth Soothul Nurk," (a particular place in hell,) for as many years as there are hairs on the person of the said woman; and afterwards, when he is born again he would become a "Koreea," (leprous,) and be subject to "Puksh Ghat" (paralytic stroke). In this manner the Sirkar expounded the Shaster to us. In order for our own good, and out of deference to the Hindoo religion, we and our posterity, viz. our sons and grandsons, and our brothers and nephews, and all, have given this writing, binding ourselves for perpetuity, that from henceforward we shall not do such a thing. If we do, we shall be considered offenders against the Sirkar. If, in future, any one of our caste people be guilty of this act, and it shall come to our knowledge, we shall after expelling him out of caste, punish him, as an atonement for the deed done, according to the Shaster and the will of the Sirkar.

(Signed) Jhareja Hatheejee
and Kooer Bojrajee

5. Memorandum from WITTOBA DEWANJEE, containing information relative to what Jhareja Rajpoots, according to their Agreement, have preserved their Daughters, and those whom it has been ascertained, from inquiry, have put them to death.

TALOOKA RAJKOT, AND BHYAD

Jhareja Dadajee has preserved his daughter, and had done so previous to the agreement on this account. She is now two years old.

Dessajee, of Kotaria village, has had a daughter since the agreement, who has been preserved, and is now nine months old. He has given her the name of Jejeeba.

Jhareja Moorjee, of Gowreedur village. This man's wife has a female child prematurely born, which died in its birth. The mother was in imminent danger, but she recovered.

KURSURA.

Jhareja Rahdoojee had a daughter four months ago, which he has preserved.

Jhareja Bapoojee also had a daughter six month since, that is now living. Jhareja Dessuljee, of Radhur village, has preserved his female infant, born three months ago.

DHEROL AND BHYAD

Jhareja Jessajee, of Jallia village, had a daughter, which died a natural death one month after its birth.

Jhareja Wuktajee, of Dherol, had a daughter two and a half months since, which is living.

Jhareja Mukjee and his brother, of Sunoosura village, have each had a daughter, who are now nine and twelve months old.

Jhareja Suggaramjee, of Sunoosura village, has also a female child, five months old.

Jhareja Bharajee has a daughter four months old.

Jhareja Nuthoojee, of Sea village, has preserved his daughter, who has now arrived at eight months age.

Jhareja Kunterjee, of the same village, has a daughter seven months old.

Jhareja Kursunjee, of Rajepoor, preserved his daughter, ten months old.

Jhareja Dahjee of the same village, has a female infant nine months of age.

Jhareja Dessajee, of Jabeeroo, has a daughter of seven months.

Jhareja Jettajee, of Jaiwoojarra; his daughter is ten months old.

Jhareja Puttabhoy, of Rodea, has a daughter of six months.

Jhareja Veerajee, of Deerukdur; his daughter is five months old.

Jhareja Togajee, of Dangur, has daughter of six months.

Jhareja Vazoobhoy, of the same place, has a daughter of three months.

VILLAGE OF WURALEE

Jhareja Khanjee; his son has put his female infant to death.

Jhareja Nuthoojee, of Gondul, who is the legitimate son of Dewajee, the Raja of Gondul, has also sacrificed the life of his daughter. This is affirmed by a number of people, but no one has yet come forward to substantiate it.

It is also said that another Rajpoot has put his daughter to death, but this is only a report.

<i>Female Children who have been preserved</i>	...	20
Died a Natural Death	...	2
Put to Death	...	3
	Total	25

By an inquiry of one month, the aforementioned information has been acquired; but these people are great vagabonds, and it is with great difficulty that they can be discovered in putting their female issue to death. I have, however, taken proper measures to ascertain all particulars on this interesting subject.

(signed) WITTOBA DEWANJEE

6. On the 25th February 1812, the following renewed Engagement against the practice of Female Infanticide obtained from JAM JESSAJEE, Chief of Nowanuggur :-

Engagement passed by Jam Jessajee, of Nowanuggur, to Shreemunt Rao Shree Sena Khas Khel Shumshere Bahadoor and the Honorable East

FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN INDIA

India Company Bahadoor, dated Falgoon Shoodh 13th, Sumvut 1868 (A.D. 25th February, 1812).

From the commencement is was a custom in our Jhareja caste not to preserve the lives of daughters. On this both Governments, after expounding the Shaster on this subject, and pointing out to us the way of the Hindoo religion, stated that it is written in the "Brumhu Vywurtuk Pooran," (a sacred work,) that whoever commits this act, his sin is great, equal to "Gurbhu Hutya," (killing an infant in the womb) and "Brumhu Hutya," (killing a Brahmin) so that killing a child is equal to killing 100 Brahmins; but in this act two sins are committed, viz. that of killing woman and child. The punishment written for this sin is, that the person who commits it will remain in "Ruvruwadik Kuth Soothul Nurk," (name of a particular place in hell) for as many years as there are hairs on the person of the said woman, after which, when he is born again, he would become a "Koreca," (leprous) and be subject to "Puksh Ghat" (paralytic stroke). Both Governments said this to us according to the Shaster, in which, the year Sumvut 1864 (A.D. 1808) I, my brothers, nephews, &c., all the Jharejas of my Talooka, passed a writing to the Sirkar, binding ourselves not to kill daughters. To inquire about this, a person lately came to us from the Sirkar, and we wrote a reply and sent with him. The Sirkar again, in the year Sumvut 1868 (A.D. 1812) required me to pass this agreement; and I do hereby state, that out of deference to the Hindoo religion, I and my posterity, viz. sons and grandsons, and my brothers and nephews, and all, bind ourselves in perpetuity, that henceforward we shall not do this act, if we do, we shall be considered offenders against the Sirkar. If, in future any one of our caste people commits this act, and if it shall come to our knowledge, we shall, after expelling him out of caste, make him answer for his sin, and according to the will of the Sirkar. Perpetual securities, given for the fulfilment of the above writing, are Bharote Merroo Mehta, of Veerungaum, and Bharote Ramdas Nuthoo, of Julsum, who shall be answerable for it. This is a true writing.

Dated Sumvut 1868, Falgoon Shoodh 13th (corresponding with 25th February A.D. 1812).

(Signed) Jam Shree Jessajee.
We, Bharote Merroo Mehta, of Veerungaum, and Bharote Ramdas Nuthoo, of Julsum, Purguna Pitlad, do hereby state, that we shall abide, and cause them to abide also, by the above writing, and we ourselves shall be answerable for it.

Mark of Bharote Merroo Mehta.
Mark of Bhatore Ramdas Nuthoo.

CHAPTER 3

SECOND PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS : RENEWED MOVEMENT AGAINST INFANTICIDE : 1816-1825

Mr. J. R. Carnac, Resident at Baroda and Captain F. D. Ballantine, Asst. Resident at Baroda were jointly responsible to make an administrative appraisal of the contemporary social condition of the Jharejas with special reference to their evil practice of female infanticide. In 1807-08 a census type of enquiry among the Jharejas revealed that only 20 female-infants were preserved *for the first time*. This figure was considered significant enough to uphold the beneficial impact of the reformatory measures which were taken by the previous British Resident at Baroda, namely, Col. Alexander Walker on behalf of the East India Company. Execution of all obligatory Engagements with the Jharejas raised genuine hopes that the people in question would never go back henceforth to their age old custom of female infanticide. British Government was content with the happy progress in Kattywar and no doubt, the directive for compiling annual data to reveal how far the 'amended system' had been acted on and observed by the Jharejas since the Engagements was issued very timely to provide with some ready attention on the problem. Introduction and functioning of a suitable machinery for such special type of enumeration constituted the guarantee of the action proposed, but nothing particular in this regard was available in Walker's lengthy despatch of 15 March, 1808.

Almost a decade later on 20 June, 1817 Capt. Ballantine being entrusted to review the situation which emerged in the Jhareja society in consequence of anti-infanticide Engagements, submitted his observations to the British Resident at Baroda. He produced some sensational evidences to show that 'measures or means have yet been insufficient to give all the effect and check to the possible secret commission of the crime, under inherent prejudice, so much to be desired... That 63 female children saved bear no proportion to the probable population of the Jharejas in the peninsula during the long period of 10 years... Our measures have not been such as we might have

hoped. . . in the Talook of Drappa, where out of a reputed number of 400 families, there is not a single female child in existence and the Talooka is at the last stage of poverty and distress'. He further related that among Thakoors (Chiefs) of Drappa the eldest brother confessed that he himself murdered two daughters before Walker's strong actions against infanticide were imposed and Capt. Ballantine was surprised to note that in the intermediate period of 10 years since 1807-8 *not one single female infant* had been born to any of the numerous Bhyads or blood-related families residing in the Talook in question.

From Ballantine's despatch it is forthwith obtained that the *second census* of all the Jharejas living in Kattywar by June, 1817 had already been carried out. This event constitutes one of the most important developments of the period in question. As a matter of fact, from the noted *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, is available a *complete list*, together with particulars of a Register, containing the names, families, places of abode, talooks, etc. of all the Jharejas alive in June, 1817, in Kattywar; special records were kept with respect to the age and number of their female offsprings saved or now living, since the introduction of the Infanticide Engagement by Walker. This census record of Ballantine is really a marvellous peice of document to reveal how meticulously the issue of infanticide and its effect on demographic makeup of the Jharejas was handled. It is known from Ballantine's report that as many as 65 Jhareja parents comming from 61 different Talooks were interrogated and existence of 63 female-children was noticed by them. In brief, number of daughters who were preserved in different age-categories is shown below:

Of these 63 surviving female children four were already given in marriage. Walker received survival-report of only *twenty daughters* ranging from 3 to 24 months in age and they belonged to twenty Jhareja parents coming from 15 villages of three Talooks only. Area of enumeration was then decidedly very limited to offer any valid comparison with that covered by Ballantine and thus, the figures available for surviving female issues among Jharejas at two different points of time have to be appreciated in the light of the objective situation prevailing at the time of counting operations in question. Though the extent of female infanticide within the time-gap between 1808 and 1817 was

Age of the child.	No. of daughters.	Age of the child.	No. of daughters.
4 months	3	7 years	4
6 "	2	8 "	1
12 "	5	9 "	1
24 "	13	10 "	2 (married)
3 years	9	11 "	2
4 "	4	14 "	1
5 "	7	15 "	1 (married)
6 "	7	20 "	1 (married)
Total : 63			

not categorically established by concrete cases in Ballantine's letter to Carnac, meagre number of 63 daughters that could be preserved by the Jharejas appeared extraordinarily disproportionate to the probable Jhareja population in Kattywar (Gujarat) after ten years. Whatever merit may be assigned to Ballantine's findings it appears clear that the spirit of the Engagements that the Jharejas themselves agreed to obey for perpetuity were eventually overpowered by the forces of sentiments and orthodox feelings of the people. Under the circumstances, it is not difficult to visualise that strict vigilance that was kept over the Jharejas at the time of Walker slowed down definitely on the part of the Company's officials in the said period and as a result the old practice of infanticide relapsed and/or continued secretly amongst the Jharejas with full vigour.

Capt. Ballantine's despatch made a sad commentary over Walker's singular achievement in Kattywar and this despatch was treated as a 'melancholy statement' by the Government of Bombay. Mr. Warden, Chief Secretary, commented to Captain Carnac (19 September, 1817) *that the very fact of preservation of 63 female children proved the efficacy of British interposition since Walker, but it reflected, of course, on 'almost universal continuance of the horrid practice.'* Strict order was at once issued 'to enforce penalties whenever a breach of their engagements' could be detected and established with substantial evidences. It is further known that the Government did not approve the proposal for engaging spies in every town or village to help the Resident in his search for culprits. This time it

appears that the Government was bent upon in adopting stricter method by taxing the offenders. Persuasion and reason became some sterile means for the Administrators to win over the traditional habit of the Jharejas and eventually the Jharejas were compelled to pay actually heavy fines for their offences.

Meanwhile, from his London residence Walker had the occasion to submit an important memorandum on the subject of Female Infanticide to Mr. J. Dart, Secretary to the Honorable the Court of Directors, East India House, on 19 July, 1819. This memorandum bespeaks at once of the magnitude and seriousness of the problem associated with the brutal habit of killing female infants by the Jharejas. It bears out also how genuinely and deeply Walker concerned himself with a social custom of some Rajpoot natives of Western India. The Jharejas raised problems not only for the Company's officers stationed in India but also for those who directed Company's activities in this country from London. In his memorandum Walker made it clear at the very outset to the Directors that this custom should not be treated as 'peculiar to the Natives of India', rather only a very little fraction of entire population of the land favoured such criminal practice. His main points of immediate interest were (i) method of suppression of the custom should be 'persuasion and reason', (ii) the Government should arrange 'to get annual reports of the births in the different districts; to encourage those who adhere to their engagements, and to exact the penalty from those who neglect them', (iii) 'the practice of destroying their children cannot be overcome by the mere dictates of natural affection,' (iv) Company's officials must visit native villages 'to instil the principle of the abolition of infanticide' and to induce the local people to attend public gatherings (*Kucheres*) where the subject of Infanticide should be thoroughly but intelligibly discussed, (v) help and cooperation of the influential Brahmins of the locality must be sought to disclose the precepts of the Hindu religion against infanticide, (vi) British collector, the Agent in Kattywar, the Agent in Kutch and the Gaekwar Authorities should closely cooperate in administering the odious crime and no 'special agency' like the spies would serve the purpose. Walker was emphatic to mention that 'by these actions, by a constant attention to the subject, by frequently assembling the Jharejas, and by using the immense mass of conciliatory methods' the brutal practice of killing female infants might surely and effectually be brought

under control. 'It is by association, and a constant attention that they [Jharejas] are to be reclaimed'—this is the essence of Walker's wise counsel for the Company's officials working amongst the Jharejas.

With a rich fund of experiences on the peculiar societal situation of the Jharejas Col. Walker made a clear exposition of the policy which the Company's Resident at Baroda should follow for the very interest of British administration in Kattywar (Gujarat). To him suppression of an evil custom of the natives in question was never an ordinary issue in routine administration of the Government. In spite of his disassociation with India Walker could not disengage himself from the problem of Infanticide in Gujarat. East India Company and its Directors used his expert opinion and suggestion in their dealings with the Jharejas and accordingly, it is found that all the proceedings which were held on infanticide used to be placed before Walker for necessary comments and guidance. In another remarkable and lengthy memorandum Walker was found to have dwelt more elaborately on the same subject of female infanticide. This memorandum was submitted again to Mr. J. Dart, Secretary to the London office of East India Company on 27 August, 1819 and it contains some of his significant observations on the *proceedings* drawn in India on the issue of Infanticide and the Jharejas. This document reveals in essential outline the main trend of developments that took place since Walker's departure among the Jharejas in their relations with the Resident and his officers. As these proceedings contained important findings on the extent and prevalence of female infanticide during 1808-1818 Walker had no difficulty to visualize the vicissitudes that prevailed in Kattywar after his regime. He commented on these findings in these concluding lines : 'as the enforcement of the *engagement* must now be infinitely more difficult by the long neglect and disuse of its provisions' and consequently, 'the Jharejas have now found out that the engagement, which was at first so reluctantly yielded and strenuously urged, means almost nothing, since it may be eluded with impunity, may be violated without detection, and without reproof.'

Walker apprehended that the Jharejas by this time had already taken it for granted that there would be little danger in violating the engagements as the British Government was no longer maintaining that much of systematic and awful

surveillance in their native affairs as they experienced a few years ago. He argued that if he was correct in his appraisal then the situation definitely appeared to be grave for the Company whose administrative weakness and vacillancy alone paved the way for the Jharejas to recur the odious custom. Reports asserting recurrent uses of the practice by the Jharejas was a true testimony to the fact that British Government became 'incapable of giving effect to their own business' which was accomplished after so much of hard toil and trouble in the first decade of the nineteenth century in Hallar and Muchoo Kanta districts of Kathiawar (Gujarat).

Without expressing any melancholic reaction to the report of Ballantine and Carnac Mr. Walker simply made a pointed reference to the proceeding of the Bombay Government drawn on 16 August, 1816 to expose the lapses of the officers concerned. The August proceedings say that 'had the annual reports required by the instructions of Government of the 31st. March, 1808 been regularly attended to, the Chieftains would have observed a continued anxiety on the part of the British Government to enforce the engagements they contracted, and the formation of these reports would also have led to a spirit of inquiry, and ensured, in certain degree, the fulfillment of these engagements, in as much as it would have proved to the Chieftains of Kattywar the anxiety felt by the British Government on the subject.' These notings make it amply clear that the British Agent at Baroda and his officers stationed at Gujarat peninsula did not exercise fully their power and influence to keep the prestige and sanctity of the Engagements contracted by the Jharejas. Under the circumstances, the interested Jharejas would obviously sieze the situation in their favour to reestablish the traditional custom of infanticide which they agreed extremely reluctantly to abolish under the direct threat of a superior foreign power.

Walker was found to suggest some immediate actions to tone up local administration in strengthening the suppression-movement. Actions purport (a) the despatch of 'authenticated copy of his engagement' to every Jhareja Chief to ventilate, 'in the most solemn and precise terms' the determination of the Company and the Gaekwar to exact the performance of an obligation which prescribed to all parties some sacred and imperative duties, (b) measure of 'public proclamation' was

suggested to reach 'the bosom and understanding' of every Jhareja and at the sametime Government was advised 'to punish such outcastes of human nature by withholding from them every mark of confidence and regard, as well as by inflicting pains and penalties, according to the nature of the case' of child-murder, (c) every birth in any Jhareja family had to be carefully recorded by the Administrators concerned and in doing so one should be alert enough to watch *the degree of social rejoicing in a family* in which a birth had taken place. Invariably the Jharejas kept themselves in absolute reticence to disapprove birth of a female infant and such overt behaviour of the members at the time of the birth of a daughter would serve as an excellent indicator of the unfortunate situation. Government officers should not have much trouble to confirm the sex of any new-born baby in any one of the Jhareja families from neighbours and other local sources, (d) British Resident at Baroda should report at least every three months for the coming first year or two to make up gaps in demographic knowledge about new births in each Jhareja village and when this measure would be found giving unbroken chain of information of all births—male or female—among the Jharejas then and only then an annual report might be compiled for necessary actions in future. Walker advised to engage the Jhareja Chiefs themselves to prepare the returns of births, of both males and females, for their onward transmission to the British Agent at Baroda. This *system of census of newly born children* by the Jharejas themselves would not only minimise Government's botherations and inconveniences, it would also compel the habitual offenders to mend themselves in the very interest of the assigned duty of their Chiefs, (e) Walker favoured 'a court of Punchyat' as the most prudent and legitimate means for the examination' of the concealed information about infanticide, and (f) presentation of some trophies like silver medal to those Jharejas who might have saved their daughter was also desired.

In this connection the Board of Directors at London was appraised that the Jharejas were not the singular group in habit of killing female infants. This custom was again traced among the *Rhatores* of Jeypoor and Jodhpoor, the *Haree* of Bondee Kota, the *Waish* in the Poorub, the *Jhuts* in Hindoostan and various Rajpoot tribes remotely situated from each other. The Mewats, a sect of *Muslims* but whose ancestors were Hindu

were also in habit of female infanticide. Prevalence of this dreadful custom among so many native groups of India was not unknown to the Jharejas who should not, therefore, be treated as an isolated and exceptional people in the context of the anti-infanticide movement by the European officers of the Company.

Walker argued to explain such wide prevalence of the custom in this line that 'although we have not discovered the motive that has led so many people to adopt this unnatural and remarkable custom, it is probably among them all to be ascribed to the same event, and to the same origin. The sacrifice is confined, it would appear, to females, and to Rajpoots, or such as claim their descent from that military race. Among a people devoted to war, and peculiarly exposed to danger, the rearing of their daughters may often have been an object of great difficulty, and in some situations they may have proved an impediment to the profession of arms. They may, therefore, have made this sacrifice, on some emergency, to their convenience, and even to their safety; or, to a dreadful superstition very prevalent in ancient times, as the means of appeasing the wrath, or of propitiating the favour, of the gods'. Origin of female infanticide in Indian society that was thus explained in the above manner has, of course, to be merited in the light of other causes that have been already noted previously.

In this context Walker referred to the author of *Akbar Nameh* who recorded that in the route of the royal army from Kashmere to Lahore they came to a village the dwellers of which had formerly been Hindus and they being extremely poor used to infanticide their newly-born daughters secretly. Knowing this inhuman custom Emperor Jhehangeer proclaimed an order that 'this barbarous practice should be discontinued' and exacted that 'whoever should commit it in future should be put to torture'. Walker desired to be guided by the lessons of Moghul measures that were adopted 200 years ago on the soil of India.

Subsequent to Walker's masterly analysis of the situation related to the anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar and Cutch the Honourable Court of Directors at London lent a serious attention to the administrative lags of the Company's officials stationed at Western India. Problem of infanticide became a serious issue to them and by March, 1820 they took a positive decision instructing the Government of Bombay to treat vigorously the cases of the Jharejas and other infanticide-practising people of Gujarat peninsula and thereby to ensure

'renewal of the decennial engagements with the Kattywar Chieftains'. This move on the part of the Court of Directors at London shows what serious eminence the odious custom of infanticide did achieve in the eyes of the British Administrators at that time. The native Jharejas acquired distinction not only in India but also in England.

Extracts from a minute that was drawn by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in his Camp Mallia on 9 January, 1821 testify to the renewed actions on the part of the European officers against infanticide. The Governor himself went amongst the infanticide-practising people to assess the current system related to the observation of the custom. He noted that no punishment for infanticide had yet been inflicted on the offenders, though *births of about 100 female infants only since the Engagements* were registered to highlight the very slow process of improvements in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Elphinstone admitted that no effectual check could yet be imposed on the atrocious practice because the same was completely congenial to the general feeling of the people. He observed that employment of some *hired agents*, according to Major Ballantine, whose duty would emphatically be to detect offenders in the Jhareja families, would be a preposterous measure. He apprehended that such measure would lead to so much intrusion into most private and domestic proceedings of the superior castes (among whom infanticide was very largely prevailing) that ultimately the very purpose in view would meet a tragic end. Elphinstone ruled out, thus, the scope of engaging hired agents against the Jharejas. Accordingly, Mr. J. B. Simson, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Governor on tour addressed to the local Government officers that the Government did not think it proper and prudent 'to authorise the employment of regular informers for the purpose of detecting instances of this atrocity'. This abnormal measure would be a wrong precedent which happened to be 'entirely unconnected with religion and unsupported by the opinion of the bulk of the community even in this country where it exists'. This significant and precautionary step was promptly taken only to snap out a wrong move that was very strongly championed by Major Ballantine. This event shows how effectively Walker's judicious suggestions prevailed over premature judgments of some young British army officers who had yet to learn the intricacies involved

in the administration of the traditional customs of the natives of India.

For about three years no major developments took place in British administration at Kattywar and Cutch. No important documents related to these years are available in the source book of the *Selections*. It is from a despatch of Captain R. Barnewall, Political Agent in Kattywar which was written to Mr. W. Newnham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay on 16 July, 1824, further information related to the Company's efforts towards suppression of infanticide is obtained. The despatch contains a wonderful *census-account* of the Jhareja daughters who were preserved by their fathers in the peninsula. This enumeration succeeded that of Ballantine. Barnewall informed that during his annual circuit among the Jharejas 'continual assurances' for immediate discontinuity of the horrid practice were made public but 'from the disproportionate number of females still existing, it is evident that although this horrible practice may be somewhat subdued *it is still far from being relinquished*'. He noted that the Chieftain of Nowanugger had a daughter born some months since and as the principal head of the Jhareja tribes he assured him to set a grand example in preserving his daughter to her full maturity.

The enumeration shown in Barnewall's despatch presents 266 females and of this number 63 had already been reported by Ballantine on 29 June, 1817. Thus, the remaining 203 females were since preserved among the Jharejas. Long seven years were taken by the Jharejas concerned to add only 203 females to their total population, but unfortunately 47 out of 266 died later and only 219 females accounted for the actual number of survivals. It was further reported that among the survived females 25 were married and the rest 194 remained unmarried. It is interesting to remember that Walker had his success with only 20 alive daughters in 1808 and Barnewall recorded a happier state of affair with 219 alive Jhareja daughters. From 1808 to 1824 the number of Jhareja daughters swelled continuously from a *negative level*, but the rate of swelling was yet to be satisfactory.

The following table has been prepared to show the number of Jhareja females born and preserved in the Western peninsula of Gujarat at the time of Capt. Barnewall (16.7.1824).

Name of the Province	Name of the Talook	Name of the Village	Number of daughter	Age recorded for each girl	Number of parents involved
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Hallar	1. Gowreedur	1. Gowreedur	2	4 m and 11 yr	2
	2. Kotaria	2. Kotaria	1	1 yr	1
	3. Shapoor	3. Shapoor	1	6 yr	1
	4. Veerwa	4. Veerwa	1	4 m	1
	5. Lodeka	5. Lodeka	1	2 yr	1
	6. Paal	6. Paal	2	5 yr and 2 yr	2
	7. Drappa	7. Drappa	5	4 yr, 3½ yr, 8 m, 12 days and 1 yr	5
	8. Dherol	8. Bodee	6	10 yr, 7 yr, 5 yr, 1½ yr, 5 yr and 1½ yr	6
		9. Radur	3	3 yr, 6 yr and 3 yr	2
		10. Intallo	1	4 yr	1
		11. Khukra	2	1 yr and 2 yr	2
		12. Sulla	1	13 yr	1
		13. Dangra	1	13 yr	1
		14. Morpoor	2	4 yr and 3 yr	2
		15. Rajpurroo	1	7 yr	1
		16. Lealoo	8	4 yr, 2 yr, 7 yr, 1 yr, 3 yr, 6 m, 10 yr, 18 yr	8
		17. Mallia	3	18 yr, 18 yr, 28 yr	3
		18. Changudur Motoo	4	7 yr, 5 yr, 1 yr, 2 yr	4
		19. Changudur Nanoo	1	5 yr	1
		20. Bhuthu Vurlu	1	4 yr	1
		21. Chunpuree	4	2 yr, 4 yr, 1 yr, 2 yr	2
		22. Rajeya	3	10 yr, 3 yr, 6 m	3
		23. Khengarkoo	1	22 yr	1
		24. Sunosra	6	3 yr, 6 yr, 1½ yr, 20 yr, 15 yr, 10 yr	2
		25. Gudroo	1	4 yr	1
		26. Khejuriyoo	1	9 yr	1
		27. Soothurpur	1	2½ yr	1
		28. Gondul	14	6 m, 5 yr, 6 m, 2 d, 5 yr, 5 yr, 15 yr, 7 yr, 2 yr,	13

FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN INDIA

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	14. Bhoo-dooa	98. Bhudooa	1	1 yr 15 days	1
	15. Megnee	99. Megnee	3	2 yr, 1 yr, 2 yr	3
	16. Rajpurra	100. Rajpurra	1	4 yr	1
		101. Hurmuteyoo	1	2 yr	1
	17. Wurpur Kuridur	102. Wurpur Kuridur	2	2 yr and 3 yr	2
2. Muchoo Kanta	18. Moor-vee	103. Moorvee	2	7 yr and 4 yr	2
All Provinces :		Total Daughters: 266		Total Parents: 231	
Note : yr = year; m = month; d = day.					

The above statement of Barnewall deserves special compliments because such an elaborate enquiry over 100 villages of the Jharejas was, indeed, remarkable in that distracted part of Western India. This sort of detailed enumeration was hardly attempted by his predecessors to compile *basic data* on the female lives since the Engagements. These data constitute the positive evidences in favour of anti-infanticide movements that were initiated since 1805. Data reveal that the girls were of various age-levels, starting from minimum 1 day to maximum 28 years. It is quite interesting that out of the total of 266 females who were recorded in Barnewall's register about 9 percent were less than a month in age and those who were less than a year in age accounted for another 7 per cent. *This means that about 16 per cent of total girls in question were truly new born babies.* Another salient feature was that a little less than half of the total girls did not attain more than 3 years in age by the time of Barnewall's census. Those who aged only 2 years at the time of census formed the single majority group, accounting for 14 per cent of the total female births in question. These facts confirmed, on the other hand, that the Jhareja parents were only lately taking serious attitude in favour of preservation of their daughters. Such overt behaviour prevailed perhaps under the threat of possible coercive actions on the part of the British administrators. 48 out of every 100 female births which were acknowledged by the Jhareja parents concerned happened to be the products of the period of 1819-24 and significantly enough right in this crucial period Government of Bombay extended

renewed and extensive interferences into the custom of infanticide at the instance of the Court of Directors, East India House, London. It seems that the Jharejas who swung back to the old custom of infanticide due to inefficient and careless supervisions of the Company's officials since departure of Walker had very promptly later acted upon the Engagements in order to avoid penalties and displeasures of the British Resident at Baroda. As a consequence, about two-thirds of the total 266 female births were reported to have occurred within the period of 1817-1824. Carnac and Ballantine remarked that from 1807 to 1817 the Jharejas flouted the agreement of the Engagements very aggressively and as a result only 63 females could be detected by Ballantine by the middle of 1817. But, Barnewall's record of newly born and slightly grown up girls presents a happier picture. Lastly, it may be pointed out that out of these 266 females not more than 15 per cent were 10 years and above in age at the time of Barnewall's demographic enquiry.

Stupendous task performed by Barnewall in collecting the demographic data in question from almost every nook and corner of Western peninsula of Gujarat repaired very largely the damages occurred in the last decade due to serious lack of proper check against the evil practice of infanticide. His intimate, constant contacts with and experiences about the Jhareja society enhanced the scope of more successful implementation of Company's policy related to quick annulment of infanticide from Gujarat. Barnewall's well-meaning activities paved the way for future smooth running of British administration of a difficult people. It is learnt from one document of the time that for about an year Barnewall had to work hard in consolidating Government's effective command over the people and the situation. He was asked in March, 1825 to explain the measures that he did adopt against the practice and to assess most significantly the possibility of creating an *Infanticide Fund* as noticed by Mr. J. B. Simson, Secretary to the Right Hon. the Governor of Bombay as early as January of 1824. A policy favouring creation of an *Infanticide Fund* out of the penalties exacted from the Jhareja offenders happened to be in the contemporary situation a very critical move which would have a far-reaching impact on the people under reference. Proposal for an *Infanticide Fund* instituted a conspicuous development in the history of British administration in Gujarat.

In reply to the Government's latest inquisition Barnewall wrote that "every encouragement has been shown to the Jharejas who have attended to their engagements, and that during the time of their settlements some were permitted to postpone the payment of tribute in the year in which the marriage of a daughter took place, remissions were granted to others-rewarding those who adhered to their engagements, and noticing with horror and disapprobation the conduct of others on whom rested a suspicion of having disregarded them." This communication dated 7 June, 1825 brings forward certain positive indications of certain new developments in British relations with the native tributaries. The developments may be linked up with British Government's amended diplomatic dealings with the Jhareja Chiefs to manipulate the issue of female infanticide in concrete terms of the payment of annual tributes to the Company's exchequer. Postponement or remission of the tribute-amount constituted obviously some lucrative fillip to the Jharejas against their wanton observance of the odious practice. Barnewall cited that the Jharejas of Dherol, *Runmuljee*, the Chief of Rajkot, *Morjee* the Chief of Gowreedur and *Dossajee*, the Chief of Dolerwa actually enjoyed remissions according to the principle laid down by Mr. Simson. On the otherhand, the Jhareja Chief of Drappa was truly allowed to postpone the payment of his tribute during the year under reference when his daughter was married. That the Jharejas were fruitfully stimulated by the new policy attending upon the sanction of the modified system of payment of tribute is quite evident from the above instances.

It is further learnt from Barnewall's despatch that still then no Jhareja was penalised for infanticide-offence and the proposed Fund had still to be formally instituted. But he hinted that the Infanticide Fund would perhaps receive its *first contribution* from the Raja of Gondul who was fined Rs. 15,000 for a breach of his Engagement with the East India Company and its Government. The Jhareja Chief of Gondul became the unfortunate victim and the heavy penalty that was imposed upon him for his disloyal behaviour was, no doubt, a serious warning to all Chiefs of Gujarat. This single action was designed perhaps to express Government's firm stand against the Jharejas and their prescriptive use of female infanticide. It is learnt that out of this Rs. 15,000 Gaekwar Government would be paid Rs. 8,086 and the remaining Rs. 6,914 would be credited to the proposed Fund.

In this connection Barnewall submitted a statement showing the amount of fine levied in the peninsula of Kattywar from 1800 to 1824. Altogether eleven Jhareja proprietors had to pay Rs. 40,233-1-33½, but the entire amount was credited to cover military expenses incurred in the Company's expedition against the Komaun insurrection.

From another statement of Barnewall it is interestingly gathered that the Jharejas were divided into four groups according to four *Ranks* (classes) in their society and the amount of marriage-expenses varied according to the Rank or Class of the Jhareja family concerned. It was estimated that the Jhareja families of the highest rank used to incur Rs. 30,000 in the marriage of a *single* daughter, where as the Jharejas of the second rank spent Rs. 12,000 per daughter in her wedding. Marriage-expenses per daughter in the families of third and fourth rank were Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 1,500 respectively. This shows how lavish and imprudent were the Jharejas. Family pride and vanity for superior status dragged the Jharejas to such a precarious limit that they did not even hesitate to run grave risk of insolvency. Barnewall estimated that in the marriages of all daughters who were living by June, 1824 the Jharejas of all ranks would ultimately have to spend as high as Rs. 3,55,500 and of this estimated amount the Jharejas of the first two superior ranks alone would have to contribute Rs. 72,000 in giving marriages of *only* 3 daughters. Under the circumstances, if any Jhareja father, particularly of the lowest rank was found to have committed infanticide to save his family from sure ruin his offence has, of course, to be merited with immediate reference to orthodox dictates of his society of that period.

Ostentatious mode of living of the wealthier Jharejas seems to be one of primary social factors that led them to indulge a peculiar psychological satisfaction in female infanticide. Inellegant actions causing annihilation of female infants only signify how the common Jharejas played fast and loose to escape once for all unavoidable pressure of extraordinary marriage expenses in future. But to the well-off Chieftains' families excessive marriage-expenses were no impellent cause for infanticide, rather their strong motive for preservation of family nobility and status was responsible for such detestful custom. Two different and distinct *motives* for female infanticide are, thus, found to have existed in the Jhareja community but each motive had its own

origin from two clear *bases*—one social-psychological and the other social-economic. Nevertheless, these two principal motives cohered for generations together to effect an extraordinary imbalance in the overall sex-ratios amongst the Jharejas. Achievement of gradual restoration of the balance in sex-ratio among the people in question was the main concern of Col. Walker and his successors and to this very end each and every anti-infanticide measure was vigorously directed by the Government of Bombay in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Contextually, the positive direction given by Mr. Newnham, the Chief Secretary, to credit all fines under Rs. 20,000 to the *Infanticide Fund* confirmed immediately to what grim extent the Government was determined to meet the situation. It is important to note that in near past reason and persuasion constituted the fundamental tenor of the Company's policy towards the Jharejas in the initial phase of the movements against female infanticide, but now such policy appeared to have taken a sharp turn to offer a positive threat to the people with awful prospect of quick imposition of heavy penalties to the maximum of twenty thousand rupees. This change in policy is evident from a short communication of Mr. Newnham given on 5 July, 1925, to Barnewall. In this month arrival of another competent British Officer, namely, Mr. John Pollard Willoughby is noticed. This officer earned reputation as a strongman in carrying forward the difficult task of Col. Walker against female infanticide. As an assistant Resident at Baroda Willoughby had occasions to probe frequently into the contemporary situation of Gujarat. In succeeding years he was found to have played a decisive role to translate Company's policy into practice to root out the abominable practice of infant-killing of the Jharejas. Willoughby's judicious administration of the problem in question had rightly placed him in the foremost position amongst the British Officers working at that period in Western India.

It is gathered from an official despatch of 18 August, 1825 that Willoughby's first significant engagement was with His Highness the Gaekwar and his native ministers. His responsibility was primarily to communicate to the Gaekwar Government the latest orders of Mr. Newnham regarding imposition of fines on the Jhareja offenders and at the sametime to take appropriate actions against these offenders. The Gaekwar Durbar was held fully responsible for any further violation of the Engage-

ments which were executed by the Jharejas at the time of Walker. This is definitely an important development of the decade in question to show the stern attitude of the British Government. To enforce forthwith discipline and/or submission the native King of Gaekwar himself was brought under vehement pressure on behalf of the Jhareja community as a whole. The Gaekwar Durbar could not escape the superiority of the Company's might and intelligence. His Highness had to agree with the proposal of Newnham and in a *memorandum*¹ dated 9 August 1825, the Gaekwar Government pledged to stand firmly by the decisions of the Government of Bombay. Decisions were (1) imposition of fines on 'disturbers of peace' and (2) redistribution of the fine-amount among the needy Jharejas to meet the marriage expenses of the daughters who might have been preserved. It is clear from the above that the Gaekwar Government stood as a surety in the Court of the East India Company. The memorandum clearly exposes the subdued position of the native rulers of Baroda who merely for a wicked custom of the Jharejas had to surrender miserably to the strong will of the foreign administrators. Female Infanticide, a social practice of a Rajpoot group like the Jharejas prevailed so significantly over the contemporary political situation that the emerging socio-political relations between the native Indians and the alien Britishers had to face a *new phase of orientation*. And in this new phase Mr. J. P. Willoughby turned out as the most important official agency to reshape the destiny of the Jharejas and other inhabitants of Kattywar, Cutch and Baroda. For satisfactory reform of the unfortunate institution of female infanticide both the names of Walker and Willoughby shall remain immortal in the social history of Gujarat, if not of India.

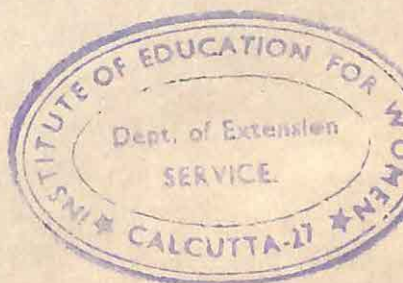


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REFERENCE-NOTE

1. *Translation of the Memorandum submitted by the Gaekwar Government on 9th August 1825.*

A memorandum has been received from the Residency, dated 9th of the first Shrawun Vud (August 9th, 1825), stating that a letter had been received by Mr. Willoughby from Mr. Newnham, Chief Secretary to Government, referring to the expedition of Colonel Walker into Kattywar in Sumvut 1864 (A.D. 1807-08), at which time the settlement in perpetuity for the tribute was adjusted, and pledges obtained from the Jhareja Rajpoots that they would desist from their practice of Female Infanticide. Colonel Walker, it is stated, resolved at the time that the sums levied as fines, from disturbers of the peace, and other offenders, should, through the clemency of Government, be distributed in such sums as were suitable to the station in life of the parties concerned, to defray the marriage expenses of the females who should be preserved through this arrangement. This being brought to the notice of the Bombay Government by Captain Barnewall, the orders of Government have been forwarded to him, that through the British dependencies in Kattywar, the sums realised in fines paid by disturbers of the peace should be appropriated as above specified; and Captain Barnewall has, accordingly, made the necessary arrangements. Further, Mr. Newnham's letter requires that information of this settlement should be given to the Gaekwar Government, and a suggestion be made of the propriety of its being extended to the Gaekwar dependencies also, in the same province. In communicating this, an early answer was solicited; to which it is replied, that the case under consideration is one of charity, and will procure the blessing of Heaven on both Government; therefore; whatever sums have been realised as fines on offenders, since Captain Barnewall was placed in charge of the districts, or any extra revenue beyond the tribute as fixed for perpetuity by Colonel Walker, may be appropriated as above specified, the disposal being year by year duly communicated to us, and the arrangement is highly satisfactory to this Government.

(True translation)

(Signed) R. H. KENNEDY, (13. 8. 1825)
Translator.

CHAPTER 4

THIRD PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS :

ANTI-INFANTICIDE MOVEMENT INTENSIFIED : 1826-1836

In the preceeding decade British Government's positive threat to impose heavy penalty for each act of female infanticide and clear assurance for liberal financial help from the Infanticide Fund to meet abnormal marriage expenses were liable to create a mixed feeling of horror and gratitude amongst the Jharejas. At one hand, the wealthier and more sentimentally-oriented Jhareja Chiefs were compelled to re-evaluate their social thinking about the age-old custom of infanticide, while on the other, the indigent Jharejas found every reason to welcome Government's benevolent move to grant cash help in marriage occasions from a promising fund, the deposits of which would accrue from the fines exacted from the Jhareja offenders concerned. It appears that the increasing volume of the Fund's deposits constituted a sure indicator of good supervision and vigilance on the part of the Government officers stationed at Gujarat and concurrently, judicious disbursement from the same Fund was another yard stick to measure the efficacy of the anti-infanticide policy of the British Government. Truly speaking, Infanticide Fund became a living symbol of the efficient administration of the Resident at Baroda and his subordinates.

Creation and organisation of the Fund had obvious implications in the life and living of the Jharejas. As per political agreement the Jhareja Chiefs were required to pay certain amounts as annual revenue (tributes) to the British rulers and the amount of tribute had meanwhile systematically been fixed for perpetuity according to the Rank of the individual Chief at the instance of Col. Walker. The Jhareja Chiefs agreed to make such payments without any grudge as the matter was critical in character. But to pay 'any extra revenue beyond the tribute' for observing a traditional custom like female infanticide was definitely not a trifling issue to them. In the question of annual tributes payable by the Chiefs the ordinary Jharejas used to pay individual share of taxes to their respective Chief in the

common interest of their village-settlements. But in the matter of that 'extra' payment to meet the penalty for misdeed of infanticide the individual Chief or other Jhareja of any rank had obviously no *moral right* to realise further money from their dependents. Responsibility for the payment of penalties for individual folly could not under any normal circumstances be treated as an issue of collective responsibility and accordingly, the Chiefs and other noble Jharejas had to face some dire consequences in continuing the custom of female infanticide in the name of nobility, family pride and orthodox sentiments.

In the light of the above developments attention is drawn to an important letter of Lieutenant Colonel W. Miles, Political Agent, Palhunpoor, which he addressed to Mr. J. Williams, Resident of Baroda, on 16 August 1828. This letter contains a report showing the number of female children preserved by the Jhareja Chiefs of the Agency of Palhunpoor. This report was based on the notes prepared by the Karkoons (native officials) who were stationed at Santulpoor Chorar and Charchate Talooks. The Karkoons recorded births of 13 daughters in these Talooks and in that context Miles remarked: "from this sample of their faith in the observance of their engagements I entertain great hopes that the horrible custom of destroying their female offspring will be, under the mild influence of the British Government, in a short period entirely abandoned in this quarter." Optimistic view of Miles was an indication of the gradual success of the strong measures which were adopted lately by Willoughby on behalf of the British Government. The Agency of Palhunpoor was *for the first time* brought under direct surveillance to unearth the incidences of infanticide. It is found that the Jharejas of the area had meanwhile executed several bonds of Engagements on 3 March and 2 August of 1827 and again on 2 August, 1828. In conformity to these Engagements the Jharejas of the Agency came forward to save lives of as many as *thirteen daughters*. These achievements in Palhunpoor in the very first attempt could be earned definitely on the strength of the untiring efforts that were extended so far in the nearby Agencies of Kattywar and Cutch since 1805. Firm handling of the problem of female infanticide in Kattywar had its serious impact on the Jharejas of other *Talooks* in different Agencies. What the British did in Kattywar for more than twenty five years to suppress the odious custom provided with enough

lessons for the Jharejas of other Talooks which were still left free from close administrative scrutiny. It is needless to emphasise that the Jharejas as a whole came to realise by this time the painful consequences that they would surely have to bear for every act of killing female infant in any family.

From the *notes* of the Karkoons¹ it is gathered that in the town of Santulpoor 4 daughters were preserved. They were all *new born* babies within the age-level from 13 months to 2½ months. Secondly, in the village of Purr 2 daughters were recorded alive. One was 12 months old and the other was 2 months in age. Thirdly, in the village of Barra 4 daughters were saved and the eldest of them was 14½ months and the youngest was 2½ months in age. Fourthly, in the village of Charunka only one daughter (16½ months old) was found. Fifthly, in the village of Sonetee again only one female infant (about 10 months in age) was saved and lastly, in the village of Limbonee another newly born daughter (26 days old) was found. Age of each daughter has been calculated with reference to the particular date of 16 August, 1828 when such cases of preservation were made public to the Government of Bombay. Extremely young age of the female children under reference only exposes the truth that the Jhareja parents concerned were very recently compelled to remould their attitude towards female offsprings. Act of preservations in this context was very recent in origin among the people concerned.

Apart from Miles' report another interesting communication (31.7.1928) from Mr. D. A. Blane, Asst. Political Agent, Kattywar, to Mr. Newnham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay helps substantially to follow the tract of developments which were effected after 1825. It is known that the British officers were still carrying out persuasions and encouragements to win the hard core of the Jhareja community. Infanticide Fund was at the same time activated to inflict pain and ruin on the offenders. Presents were made to those Jharejas who happened to preserve female children. He reported that in 1827 Nowanuggur Talook alone gave 171 female individuals during an enumeration and this figure showed an increase of 95 over the number recorded last by Barnewall. But such substantial increase was precisely due to omissions in the former enquiry of Barnewall, as remarked by Blane. Nevertheless, the very fact that the Nowanuggur Jharejas could preserve so many female children was

really a remarkable event. Past history showed how stubbornly Jam Saheb of Nowanuggur resisted once to comply with the desires of Col. Walker for abrogation of the brutal custom of female infanticide in his Talook. Jam Saheb was the last Jhareja of immense rank and power to enter into the deed of Engagement against infanticide. Naturally, after 12 years when as many as 171 female children were found alive in the very Talook of Nowanuggur, this demographic phenomenon appears to be some positive proof of real success of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar (Gujarat).

Blane dwelt again on the old question of origin and continuance of the custom of infanticide among the Jharejas. He added no new material to this end but made some concrete version of the legendary tales of the Jhareja King who was responsible for the first introduction of the custom. Walker recorded long back the legendary episode in March 1808. Blane wrote: "the chief motive with the Jhareja to the commission of Infanticide is the pride which leads them to consider the other tribes of Rajpoots unworthy of receiving their daughters in marriage; and as no Rajpoot can marry a female of his own tribe, they prefer putting them to death to the prospect of the dishonour which is likely to result from their living in a single state." The same motive was noted by Walker also and it appears that this peculiar motive was still dominating to agitate the Jhareja parents concerned. Incidences of infanticide that were recurring in secret in Kathiawar might have resulted under the strongest dictates of this age-old motive of the Jhareja Rajpoots.

Regarding the legendary tales Blane added: "*Laka Fullanee*, the most powerful sovereign of their race, who ruled over Kutch and Sind, is said to have sent two Brahmins to find an appropriate match for his daughters but they returned without being able to discover anyone of equal rank, and as he was unwilling to marry them to an inferior, the Brahmins recommended that they should not be allowed to live. They were accordingly put to death, and the example being thus sanctioned, the Jharejas have since destroyed their female children immediately at their birth." In his account Walker did not identify the King by his name and he was told that one Rajgooroo (Rajgor) was responsible to instigate the King for murdering his beautiful daughter under the same circumstances as Blane was given to understand. The legend seems to have occupied a momentous

tion in the Jhareja society to offer them readily a fine plea for the barbarous crime and its inviolability.

Blane argued that the inordinate expenses of marriages might have induced the poorer Jharejas to go readily for female infanticide, but strangely enough, preservation of female child was equally unknown in the most wealthy families of the Jhareja community. The factor of family pride remained, thus, to be a determining socio-psychological drive which could hardly be dealt with any coercive or conciliatory method so far undertaken in Kattywar. What Blane attempted to hint posed, no doubt, a serious question to the contemporary Government officials who were at the helm of native administration in Kathiawar.

It is further known from him that among the Rajpoots other than the Jharejas equality of rank and wealth was the chief consideration in contrating marriages. By the middle of 1828 in the principal Rajpoot talook like Nowanugger, Gondul, Rajkot, Moorve or Dherol the Jhareja Chief himself or one of his nearest Bhyad showed marvellous allegiance to the Engagements by preserving quite a good number of female offsprings. Though in past the Rajpoots in general were notoriously famous for the infanticide crime yet the Jhareja Rajpoots were the singular exception in continuing the crime even in the nineteenth century. With all power and economic advantages at their command the British Rulers had yet to penetrate the orthodox understanding of the traditional custom of the Jharejas. This truth was admitted by Mr. J. Bax, Secretary to the Government of Bombay in his letter of 9 September, 1828 to Blane. Bax wrote : 'progress hitherto made has not been so marked and effectual as could be wished.'

To continue the history of anti-infanticide campaign in Kattywar it may be pointed out that in spite of absence of any spectacular achievement Government's efforts were kept unabating to improve the highly disbalanced sex-ratios among the Jharejas. Regular *enumerative-checks* of female birth were in progress to gather concrete demographic data on annual growth of Jhareja population. Detection of any deficiency or decline in absolute number of females in any Talook over a year exposed at once the Talook or Talooks concerned and accordingly, official vigilance and control over the suspected Jhareja Talook gained severity. Procedure of yearly counting of all new births—male and females—in each Talook as suggested by Col. Walker in the last decade,

turned out to be a very effective measure. Demographic statistics constituted some significant aids to the foreign administrators in the assessment of the results of their anti-infanticide movements. In this context, the valuable census-materials given by Mr. J. W. Langford, Asst. Political Agent, Kattywar, on 12 April, 1829 to Mr. Blane must be cited. It has been reported that during the year under reference Dherol Talook alone had not more than 25 inhabited villages and altogether existence of 71 female children was registered by 64 Jhareja fathers. Langford remarked that this number of female children was 'nearly equal to what the total was in the peninsula a few years since' and this statement was available from the Chief of Dherol and his Bhyad. The following is the summary of the statement.

Name of Village.	No. of fathers.	No. of daughters.	Name of Village.	No. of fathers.	No. of daughters.
1. Boregodee	8	8	14. Eetalla	1	1
2. Radur	2	2	15. Nutto Wurdla	1	1
3. Eetalla	1	1	16. Mujgoot	2	2
4. Kakrabella	1	1	17. Wunpuree	2	2
5. Kokra	2	2	18. Kejeriou	1	1
6. Chullo	3	3	19. Jeberou	1	1
7. Dhungurro	2	3	20. Rajpoor	2	2
8. Manpoor	1	1	21. Rozeea	3	3
9. Rajpoor	1	1	22. Kengar	1	1
10. Seala	9	11	23. Soonsura	1	5
11. Moto Wagodur	10	10	24. Guddroon-Jaywoon	2	2
12. Suggateea	3	3	25. Mayroojee	1	1
13. Nana Wagodur	3	3			
All villages :				64	71

From the above table it is evident that almost all the Jhareja fathers in question had *one living daughter* in their respective family. Notable exception was that Jhareja father of Soonsura village who was credited with *five daughters*. This demographic development suggests strongly that the preservation of female offspring was an act of very recent origin in Dherol Talook. No indication about the number of male children and

or total male and female persons is available from Langford's statement and as such the nature of sex-ratio prevailing in the Jhareja group of Dherol Talook can never be predicted. Nevertheless, it is certain that the preservation of new female births in question should improve ultimately the very low proportion of females per 100 males among the Jharejas under reference.

In the next four years what happened in Kattywar and Kutch with respect to the anti-infanticide movements is not precisely known from the *Selections* (1856). Official records and/or despatches from which the trend of developments can be reconstructed for the period in question are lacking in the said *Selections* of the Bombay Government. But, it may reasonably be presumed that during these years the British Government did definitely not relaxed to sustain their anti-infanticide activities in rooting out the crime from the area and accordingly, more and more detections of the habitual offenders and/or suspected families amongst the Jharejas should constitute an obvious task. As a consequence, the Infanticide Fund was expected to receive substantial deposits of fines. On 24 April, 1833 Mr. Willoughby, Political Agent in Kattywar confirmed in a letter that on the last day of December, 1832 *the Fund yielded a balance of Rs. 51,146* and this amount was undoubtedly exacted from those Jharejas who still dared to commit female infanticides. Accumulation of such large deposits in the Fund signifies at once one concrete fact that in the firm vigilance on infanticide-practices the foreign administrators never indulged any further relaxation. Prosperity of the Infanticide Fund itself acted as a barometer to record rise and fall of administrative efficiency of the British Resident and his office at Baroda, Gujarat.

Mr. Willoughby in the above letter informed Mr. J. Williams, Political Commissioner for Gujarat that he met personally with Jhareja Chiefs in whose territories the revolting crime was prevailing and they were requested to send the registers showing the number of the female children that were then alive. This little information is significant enough to indicate the line of actions which was then encouraged by the Government. Captain Barnewall took the first lead in the last decade to make personal contacts with the Jharejas of more than 100 villages and in his singular attempt he was successful to convey the mind of the British Government to the local people. His personal presence

amongst the common Jharejas was, no doubt, very helpful to assess the objective situation of the area and after about 10 years another superior British officer was found to develop such personal acquaintance with the Jharejas concerned. By his action Willoughby was able to place himself in a more advantageous position in accomplishing his assigned tasks.

Mr. C. Norris, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay was noticed on 24 September, 1834 by Willoughby that 'the most complete' and 'the most accurate' census of the sons and daughters of the Jhareja tribe was ready and it was claimed that this census (by Willoughby) surpassed all the previous censuses in quality and accuracy. It is easily understandable that with his personal contacts with the Jhareja Chiefs and their subjects Willoughby lost no time and/or opportunity to make precise quantitative assessment of the strength of young aged Jharejas of both sexes. His demographic data were extremely helpful to sift out the extent of excess of males over females within certain age-levels. The following is the demographic records of the Jhareja youngs given by Willoughby in 1834.

by Wiltoughby in 1834.

District (talooka)	Males		Females				Total	Excess of males	Excess of females	Remark
	1 to 20 yrs in age	Married	Betrothed	Unbetrothed	Deceased					
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
1. Nowanugger	613	86	77	178	39	380	233	—	verified	
2. Dherol	208	11	—	73	9	93	115	—		
3. Gondul Dhorajee	86	18	6	20	1	45	41	—	„	
4. Moorve	61	3	3	1	7	14	47	—	„	
5. Rajkot	15	2	—	1	5	8	7	—	„	
6. Drappa	67	1	—	9	4	14	53	—	„	
7. Veerpoor Khureree	52	2	4	4	—	10	42	—	„	
8. Mooleeladeree	63	—	1	13	3	17	46	—	„	
9. Seesang Chandlee	37	3	—	10	2	15	22	—	„	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
10. Satodur									
Wawree	38	6	5	13	8	32	6	—	„
11. Kotra Nyajee	24	—	1	1	—	2	22	—	„
12. Keesura	12	3	2	11	1	17	—	5	„
13. Rajpoora	30	—	—	2	3	5	25	—	„
14. Jhallia	28	5	1	5	2	13	15	—	„
15. Mallia	16	—	2	2	1	5	11	—	„
16. Lodeeka	9	—	—	2	—	2	7	—	„
17. Mengnee	6	—	1	5	—	6	—	—	„
18. Paal	5	—	—	1	2	3	2	—	„
19. Bharwa	18	—	1	1	1	3	15	—	„
20. Veerwa	2	—	—	—	—	0	2	—	„
21. Kotaria	3	—	—	1	1	2	1	—	„
22. Shapoor	3	—	—	—	—	0	3	—	„
23. Wudalee	8	—	—	1	—	1	7	—	„
24. Kotra									
Sanganee	3	—	—	1	1	2	1	—	„
25. Kaksiallee	4	—	1	1	—	2	2	—	„
26. Mowa	2	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	„
27. Gowreedur	5	—	—	—	2	2	3	—	„
28. Gutka	4	—	—	1	1	2	2	—	„
all districts :	1422	140	105	358	93	696	731	5	

In this enumeration the Jhareja males who were equal to and less than 20 years in age were accounted, while in the case of the female population such restriction was not adhered to. But it is known that out of all living female children (603 in number) as many as 570 were within this age-limit. This means that by 1834 among the young population (falling not beyond the age margin of 20 years) *the female individuals did account for only 25 percent of total 1922 persons*. Males outnumbered the females and this phenomenon alone is significant enough to expose the brutal impact principally of infanticide and generally of other factors of mortality. Further analysis shows that (a) those females who died for various reasons constituted only 13 percent of total females recorded in the census-register under reference, (b) *of all the males and females (2118) those females who were found surviving at the time of counting explained*

for only 28 percent, (c) out of total living females of younger ages (603) 23 percent were declared married, 18 per cent were betrothed and 59 per cent were still unmarried, (d) all the females (696) noted in the register accounted for *only one third of total population* (males and females combined), (e) *sex-ratio* (males per 100 alive females) was as high as 235.8, that is, the *dominance of the male youngs was more than two times over the surviving females*. With respect to the total 696 females the said sex-ratio slipped down to 204.3 and this means that for every female there were two males among the Jharejas. From this demographic situation it emerges clearly that for the last twenty-five years whatever had been executed to check killing of female infants just after birth the continuance of the unnatural crime was still a social reality amongst the Jharejas. But this does not, of course, belittle the 'great and gratifying increase' of females during the last ten or fifteen years. It should be remembered that essentially from a *zero-level* (1805) the size of the Jhareja females of young ages reached the level of 696 in 1834. To account for such spectacular demographic growth the role of anti-infanticide movements by the British officers must be acknowledged with satisfaction.

A quick glance over the census-account of Willoughby draws out some additional features which are quite interesting in the given context: (i) out of twenty eight districts only 2 districts namely, *Veerwa* and *Shapoor* maintained an unique position in yielding *not a single* young female amongst the constituent inhabitants, although the number of young males in the districts was extremely meagre, (ii) the district of *Keesura* became, on the other hand, very prominent in registering *excess of females* over the males. This promising demographic development was shown by *Keesura* only, (iii) there were as many as nine districts where not a single death of any young female was reported but the number of young females was itself very low in each one of these nine districts, (iv) similarly, in 17 out of 28 districts not a single incidence of marriage of young females was recorded, (v) of the total 358 *unmarried* females almost 50 percent were found in the single district of *Nowanugger* and next to this came the *unmarried* females of *Dherol* district (20 percent). Thus, *Nowanugger* and *Dherol* districts were found to report together as high as 70 percent of the total *unmarried* females, (vi) as far as the *married* females were concerned it was again the district

of Nowanugger which topped the list in recording 61 percent of the total 140 married females found in the census-record, (vii) in all the districts except Keesura the young males were in excess over the young females. Contextually it is important to note that each item of information included in the given document was specifically tested and verified by Willoughby to ensure the quality of the data.

It was remarked by Willoughby that the above results shown in the census-table established beyond doubt 'the melancholy fact that the dreadful crime of infanticide' had never been *completely* subdued in Kathiawar. Since Barnewall's census return showing 219 living female children in 1824 there had been definitely steady progress in favour of preservation of female offsprings, though the progress might have been low and unsatisfactory in comparison to quick and drastic actions of the Administrators. Quoting Willoughby one has to agree that "it was not to be expected that a whole tribe at once relinquish a custom in which, however barbarous, they rather prided themselves, instead of regarding it as an indelible stain on their character." The task initiated by Honorable Jonathon Duncan and Col. Alexander Walker in the commencing years of the nineteenth century was laudably carried forward by their successors to stamp out the evil practice of infanticide from Gujarat. Accordingly, in 1834 the Jharejas were in a position to nourish as many as 603 female children in their families. The people who had brutal aversion for keeping their female infants alive were now found to possess so many living females. *This was no mean achievement*, rather the development pointed out a revolutionary change that was ushering steadily in the mental make-up of the Jharejas. Mere figures for female children cannot obviously portray such significant change in all dimensions.

Additional demographic data are available from Willoughby to understand the *nature of sex-ratio* in each age-level within 1 to 20 years. Number of males and females that was meticulously recorded in each age-level shows at once that the *female children were consistently in deficient*, except in the age-level of 19 years. Most interesting was the utter disproportionate records of the births of female children under the age-level of 1. In this age-level the birth records of 130 male offsprings against only 44 female offsprings were noted. The male infants were almost *three times more* than the female infants. Such

disbalance in sex-proportion never takes place in natural condition. Similar disbalances were prominent in each age-level under reference. Willoughby made an analysis to show that during the last twenty years the females were preserved in the following order: 68 during the first five years, 102 during the second five years, 176 during the third five years, and 225 during the last five years. That the Jharejas began to value more and more the female-births in their families is evident from the above facts and this shows the constructive effect of anti-infanticide measures adopted so far amongst the Jharejas by the then British Government. Below is reproduced the actual enumerative figures for males and females in different age-levels ending at 20 years.

age	number of females	number of males	excess of males	excess of females
1	44			
2	46	130	86	—
3	35	103	57	—
4	40	108	73	—
5	53	118	78	—
6	36	89	36	—
7	43	93	57	—
8	34	76	33	—
9	30	96	62	—
10	33	41	11	—
11	13	125	92	—
12	26	32	19	—
13	21	83	57	—
14	15	48	27	—
15	27	42	27	—
16	29	59	32	—
17	9	41	12	—
18	11	24	15	—
19	4	26	15	—
20	15	2	—	2
unspecified	7	67	52	—
Total	571	1422	853	2

Here the number of *surviving* females is 571, though previously records of 603 living females had been shown. The

difference of 32 individuals was due for the fact that they were above 20 years in age. Concurrently, the causes for mortality of 57 out of 93 females were reported to be the diseases of small pox, measles, convulsions and fever. None of them was the victim of infanticide. But, for the remaining 36 females causes of their death remained unspecified. Who could vow that these 36 females did not face the brutality of infanticide?

On the other hand, another encouraging development was noticed for the first time. There were at least 95 cases where the Jhareja fathers concerned possessed *more than one* living daughters in their custody. As early as 1817 the Government remarked that 'the continuance of infanticide in Kattywar was placed beyond doubt by the simple fact that no instance had occurred of a Jhareja having saved more than 1 daughter.' But in 1834 Willoughby and his Government were surely pleased to see that (a) in *two* instances the Jhareja fathers concerned preserved 4 daughters individually, (b) in *thirteen* instances the Jharejas had 3 daughters each in living state, and (c) in *eighty* instances the Jharejas presented 2 daughters alive in each case. These demographic facts were, indeed, very stimulating not only to the Jharejas themselves but also to the Government of Bombay as a whole. In this context it is gratifying to learn that "in every Jhareja Talook, either the Chief himself, or one or more of his relations, have set example of preserving their daughters, some of whom are alive, and have intermarried into the families of other Rajpoot tribes of the province." From this vital remark of Willoughby one notable issue emerges at once that the Jharejas were changing fast their old sentiment and psychology to effect a qualitative upliftment in the *milieu* of their society. And here lies the real success of the British policy against Infanticide.

Willoughby again remarked that in Moorve Talook alone males were excess by 54 and this fact showed that the Jharejas of this Talook had substantially been enthused by their late Chief who earned an unique honour by renouncing the odious practice twentyfive years ago. Equally unfortunate were the people of Rajkot, the very headquarter of the British Agent in Moorve Talook, among whom the males were decidedly in great excess. In his important despatch of September, 1834 (mentioned earlier) Willoughby was found to have made several recommendations to tackle the lingering effects of infanticide amongst

the Jharejas. His *recommendations* may be itemised in the following manner:

1) Complete census of the Jharejas by the Karkoon employed for each district (Talook) eliciting information on (a) number of females in the district, (b) names, (c) ages, (d) profession and occupation of each member of the Jhareja tribe, (e) number of marrieds and unmarrieds. Immediate help and co-operation of the native Chief of each district was solicited in this work.

2) Expenses to be incurred for the said census operation were to be defrayed from Infanticide Fund. Each Karkoon should be paid Rs. 50/- and additional Rs. 10/- for his work outside Rajkot, one peon would get Rs. 6/- and for stationery Rs. 4/- were to be spent. Thus, a budget of Rs. 60 per month or Rs. 720 per year was suggested to accomplish the urgent need of an accurate census of the Jharejas.

3) Every Jhareja Chief should under penalty maintain and submit a half-yearly register showing all cases of marriages, betrothals, birth and deaths occurring among his tribe in his district. Such return would have to be submitted on 1st. January and 1st. July every year.

4) Political Agent of Kattywar should submit *annual report* showing all marriages, betrothals, births and deaths that had occurred among the Jharejas within the year of report.

5) Promulgation of a *Proclamation* by the Government of Bombay throughout Kattywar (Gujarat) requiring the Jhareja Chiefs to enforce the observance of the Infanticide Engagements.

6) Accepting Major Carnac's proposals for some scales of reward to informers of infanticide—cases and some scales of fines for the offenders would have to be honoured without further delay. *Scales of Rewards* to the informers of infanticide consisted as follows:

(a) an informer against the Jam of Nowanugger :	Rs. 1000
(b) an informer against an inferior Raja :	Rs. 500
(c) an informer against a near relation of Jam or Raja :	
(d) an informer against a poor Jhareja :	Rs. 200
<i>Amount of fines to be imposed on the Jhareja offenders</i>	Rs. 100
was like below:	
(a) the Jam of Nowanugger, if convicted :	Rs. 30,000

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| (b) an inferior Raja, if convicted: | Rs. 10,000 |
| (c) their near relations, if convicted: | Rs. 2,500 |
| (d) a poor Jhareja, if convicted: | as much
suited the
man. |

7) All persons accused of the commission of infanticide must be tried by the High Court of Criminal Justice for Kattywar. Political Agent would institute preliminary enquiry and commit the offenders concerned for trial. The proceedings of the trial would have to be published and circulated widely to influence native's opinion and sentiment against infanticide.

8) Rigid adherence to the Proclamation which was to be shortly issued and its sanctity must be ensured. Violation in this regard by any Chief should be severely dealt with, and if needed, *he should be deprived of the sovereignty of his Talook.*

9) Every Rajpoot in Kattywar should keep the Government Agent informed every marriage contract of their daughters with the Jharejas, in a circular letter.

10) Marks of approbation would have to be extended to the Chiefs and inferior members of the Jhareja tribe who had adhered to their engagements to preserve their female issues and the expense incurred in marrying these females should be debited to the Infanticide Fund. As per the last recommendation of Willoughby some Jharejas of rank were actually favoured by the Government.

The fortunate Jhareja Chiefs were precisely the Chief of *Keesura*, the Chief of *Mengnee*, the Chief of *Satodur Wawree* and two inferior Jharejas. These Jharejas preserved together 9 daughters and they were recommended to receive Rs. 2916 from the Infanticide Fund for their good behaviour. Willoughby stated that by 15 September, 1834 the Fund was showing Rs. 81,927-5-2 as deposits.

A careful perusal of the suggestions made by Willoughby would reveal that he was advocating some very stringent measures against the infanticide-practising people who never experienced such drastic moves earlier. These measures which were approved later by the Chief Secretary of the Government in his letter of 22 November, 1834, embodied the strongest administrative attitude shown by the Political Agent of Kattywar. Certain new lines of actions against the crime came for the first time

within the purview of the administrators. *Judicial machinery in aid of the executive officers was brought into the picture.* The Jhareja Chiefs were threatened to face a grave risk of losing the very sovereignty of their individual Talook for each act of infanticide. Until now the Jharejas were required to pay the fines only for infanticide and their cases were dealt directly by those British officers who were empowered to take appropriate actions as per merit of the cases concerned. There was never the threat of judiciary trial by the High Court or the prospect of losing the sovereign right over one's territory (Talook) for the commission of infanticide. Willoughby, the strong man of the Government, caused an explosion in the contemporary situation in which the Jharejas were still behaving complacently as well as insensibly with their pride and sentiments for a traditional but harmful custom. Judiciary trial and forfeiture of one's Talook turned out to be the latest forms of warning for the Jharejas who might dare any longer to disobey the Government by commissioning infanticide.

Before going to discuss the chain of events which took place in succeeding months among the Jharejas the proposal for circulating a *proclamation*² to all Chiefs may be given attention. Willoughby prepared a lengthy draft of the proposed Proclamation to be issued immediately on the subject of female infanticide in Kattywar (Gujarat) and the same was partially amended by the Government of Bombay before its actual circulation in the last part of 1834. The Proclamation itself is an important piece of literature in which Willoughby's masterly analysis of the facts and figures related to the Jharejas, their ritual adherence to infanticide and consequent demographic developments have been incorporated to display his honesty of purpose and integrity. In this Proclamation Willoughby recorded that in as many as 10 districts (Talookas) the great disparity between the number of male and female Jharejas "can only be accounted for by the continued prevalence of the dreadful crime in those places". Accordingly, the Chiefs of these districts were warned that should similar disquieting facts from the periodical returns (hereafter to be furnished), come to light they would be severely punished for not adhering to their engagements to renounce the crime.

Willoughby reiterated that in seeking complete abolition of the crime the British Government was not actuated by any

motive of ambition or self-interest. He made it absolutely clear that the possessions of the Chiefs of Kattywar were guaranteed to them, and necessary protection would never cease except on certain condition. The contract was truly reciprocal and mutual but should the Jharejas fail to go by their own solemn declaration against infanticide, the contract would be treated cancelled and accordingly the favour and protection of the British Government would be withdrawn to inflict more trouble and penalties upon the Jhareja community as a whole. The Proclamation ended with another emphatic resolution that any Jhareja who might be charged for violating the Engagement would summarily be placed on trial for the heinous crime of "child murder" before the High Court of Criminal Justice or be dealt with in such other mode as would be deemed most expedient, and conducive towards the complete suppression of the practice. As the full text of the Proclamation has been appended below we need not go into any further details of the same.

Meanwhile, the Government of Bombay took due step to distribute 700 copies (lithographed in Gujarati language) of the modified form of the Proclamation along with the copy of the renewed Engagement entered into in 1812 by the Jam Saheb of Nowanugger. About this renewed Engagement reference has already been made in preceeding pages. This step was engineered precisely according to Willoughby and simultaneously Mr. Norris, Chief Secretary, outlined the procedure of trial of any convicted Jhareja. Political Agent would have first to set an inquest and then to suggest the future course to be pursued by the Government and/or the High Court of Criminal Judicature.

Twelfth day of April, 1835 was the red-letter day when the proceeding of the *first trial case* of Jhareja *Soorajee*, the present Chief of Rajkot, was made public by Willoughby and the Government of Bombay. On the concrete charge of Infanticide one of the important tributaries of British Government was to face an inquest. Soorajee was the first Jhareja of rank and wealth who was compelled to experience utter humiliation and disgrace in his trial by two white skinned administrators. Such an outstanding event was fully unprecedented in the living memory of the Jharejas of Kattywar. They could never imagine that one of their most respectable Chiefs could be put into dock on the charge of a mere domestic custom like infanticide. Trial of

Soorajee by Captain Lang was, indeed, an unbelievable experience to the Jharejas. Under painful circumstances they agreed most reluctantly to pay the fines but certainly they were least prepared to court such low insult which was thrown upon the Chief of Rajkot. Mr. Willoughby, thus, forced himself into an agonizing situation where the Jharejas as an oppressed group were day by day accumulating enough reasons to feel deeply concerned and if not, provoked. A great challenge was thrown to the Jharejas by Willoughby and they were forced to rise above the occasion in defending their social honour and political integrity. They were obviously not prepared to brook such disgrace. Punishment of a Chief of Rajpoots was a serious action to affect the Jhareja community as a whole.

From the proceedings of the trial it is learnt that in October 1834 a definite charge for committing infanticide was brought against Soorajee and Willoughby and Lang jointly investigated the circumstances under which the revolting instance of child-murder was perpetrated. The proceeding contains a detailed history of the investigation and several evidences by which the charge against Soorajee was supported. A summary review of this history and evidences is noted here.

A Jhareja respectability having friendly relation with Willoughby gave the information that one of Soorajee's wives gave birth to a daughter on 6 October, 1833 and immediately after birth the girl died. As witness of this birth one midwife who was the wife of *Walund Kuchra*, widow of *Patel Mandun*, a friend of the child's mother, *Jethee*, Kooerees, slave girls in attendance on the mother were present in the room and several Brahmins were waiting outside the room where the birth occurred, for the purpose of noting down the *Wela* or the exact time of birth, had a son born. Several persons had intimate knowledge of the birth of the daughter and as such primary contacts for due investigation were established immediately. They were interrogated to reveal the truth of infanticide. From interrogations some interesting facts were known: (1) Their first witness *Nuthoo Bhut* disclosed that along with other Brahmins he was waiting the *Wela* in the hope of receiving a present on birth of a son. (2) *Ruttunba*, wife of *Walund Kuchra* confessed that occasionally she used to act as a midwife and she came to attend one of the wives of respected Soorajee on the earnest request of the slave girl *Jethee*. It was recorded in the proceeding that *Ruttunba* gave her evidences

very reluctantly. (3) Jethee was really the agent by whom the infant was put into death, but this illiterate but clever woman elicited nothing positive to shed light on the matter. Rather, as an experienced woman she declared that the birth was premature and still-born. Contrary to Jethee one of the Kooerees came out with the real facts to relate how the infant was killed by putting the umbilical chord in her mouth. Such was the sensational revelation of the cruel practice which took the life of an innocent child. Such was the social 'conspiracy' against the newly born females of the Jhareja society. Had this inquisition been kept ineffective one could never learn a *positive proof* of child murder in the name of an inviolable custom.

Soorajee met Willoughby on 17 October and requested not to put his possessions under attachment. He was summarily turned down and it was made clear that in violation of the Engagement which his father entered into with Col. Walker to renounce the unnatural practice for ever, Soorajee had no moral right to seek any further protection from the British Government. Moreover, charge of infanticide against him was definitely proved in an open trial. He had to pay the penalty for his crime. Later on, under the ominous influence of another crooked person *Halarjee*, the Chief of Rajkot took a wrong step in denying the charge of infanticide. Unfortunately, Soorajee made a blunder and he could not take the advantage of an appeal which Willoughby consented on his admission of the charge before the Government representative. In the proceeding it was noted that Soorajee's case was "*the first case of Infanticide that has ever yet been clearly proved in Kattywar.*"

Willoughby took a stern attitude against Soorajee for his crafty and dubious dealings. He recommended a fine of Rs. 12,000 to be executed from the Chief of Rajkot and the amount was fixed to be credited to the Infanticide Fund. Moreover, Soorajee's entire Talook was declared to remain under attachment until the fine-amount was paid. On the other hand, he desired immediate dismissal of three local Mehtas (*Joeta*, *Bulwant* and *Dulputram*) for their inefficient and callous service on behalf of the Government and they were asked to leave the territory within ten days after the receipt of the order. These Mehtas for many years had the 'exclusive management' of the Rajkot Talook and they had greatly abused their trust, and enriched themselves at their master's expense. Willoughby started administrative

clean-up of his own personnel in opportune moment only to tone up the morale of the loyal workers.

Jhareja *Moorjee* who ventelated first the news of Soorajee's crime was since dead and it was recommended that a donation of Rs. 1000 and a pair of silver bangle should be offered to his family for his remarkable service against Infanticide. Moorjee's family was further extended remission in tribute by one-half.

A Mehta named *Judooram* who assisted profitably in the prosecution of the case against Soorajee was awarded a cash-prize of Rs. 200. Willoughby stated, "the whole of these disbursements will, of course, be debited to the Infanticide Fund."

Proceeding of the case of Soorajee that was forwarded for necessary perusal and action by Willoughby to the Government of Bombay was approved in toto in Mr. Norris's letter of 2 June, 1835. Willoughby's recommendations pertaining to fine and awards were also accepted. Soorajee was asked to pay Rs. 12,000 for his offence and violation of the terms of the Engagement concerned and this amount would be credited in full to Infanticide Fund. The Government additionally desired that (i) a fresh Engagement Soorajee would have to sign by keeping two or three principal Jhareja Chiefs as surety for his future conduct, (ii) immediate report of any expected birth in the royal family of the Chief of Rajkot would have to be made and (iii) a last warning must be issued to Soorajee in this effect that any repetition of the offence of child-murder would deprive him his estate.

Next to the famous case of Soorajee another case of infanticide was tried and in this occasion the culprit was Jhareja *Veerajee* of Khureesra, a dependant of Jhareja *Doongurjee*, the Chief of Khureesra Talooka. The Government of Bombay was noticed about this case on 10 September, 1835. It was stated that three to four months ago *Veerajee* committed the crime which was reported first to Willoughby by *Judooram* Mehta. Chief of Khureesra attempted in vain to give shelter to *Veerajee*, even when his cruel act was proved thoroughly in an open trial. Taking all possible evidences at hand Willoughby and Lang could establish the offence. *Veerajee* was fined Rs. 3,000 and he was ordered to go ordinary imprisonment definitely for one year in Rajkot. If he would fail to give the fine two year's more detention in the jail he would have to suffer. *Veerajee's* fate was sealed for ever and his punishment was, no doubt, a grim lesson for other

Jharejas. Willoughby got approval of his actions against Veerajee from his Government on 9 October, 1835. Judooram Mehta was sanctioned a reward of Rs. 800 from Infanticide Fund for his excellent co-operation with the Government in their measures against infanticide.

The third case of infanticide was reported by Willoughby on 16 September, 1835. Jhareja *Bugwanjee* was the accused and before inquisition he confessed that fifteen to eighteen months ago under his direction his son's daughter was killed. Bugwanjee's offence took place before Soorajee's offence, but the former crime came to light only after Soorajee's severe punishment. Rajkot case prevailed over the Jharejas so awfully that the concealed acts of infanticide of past could no more be kept in secrecy by the common Jharejas in fear of painful consequences which the Chief of Rajkot himself had to face. When rank, wealth and respect of Soorajee could extend him no worthwhile protection against the charge of infanticide, any inferior Jhareja would under the circumstances naturally feel very shaky and discouraged to hide the acts of such crime. Moreover, it may be presumed that there was no dearth of such informers who might desire to profit by disclosing any old or new case of infanticide. Judooram Mehta could not definitely be expected to monopolise Government's gratification. He had his competitors amongst the indigent Jharejas who could equally aspire to earn admiration and reward from the almighty English Bahadoor. Truly speaking, Bugwanjee's crime was actually confirmed by two Jharejas, namely *Deengajee* and *Sujajee*. As a result of their actions the inferior Bugwanjee had to pay Rs. 100 as fine in lieu of 3 months imprisonment. More than a year ago the crime was committed and yet Bugwanjee was put into trial only on the basis of some positive information supplied by another two persons of his own community. This simple fact reveals that by the latter half of 1835 the Jharejas had enough reasons to feel miserably panicky under the strong and merciless administration of Willoughby who was largely successful to penetrate into the most secret domestic affair of the people. From another letter of Willoughby it is known that some Moonshe *Golam Mahmood* made the actual investigation of Bugwanjee's case on his behalf and this Muslim gentleman was additionally entrusted to take future census of all births and deaths in Rajkot Agency.

repay his dues within next three years and only on the termination of his debt Soorajee would acquire sovereign right on the whole revenue of his Talook. Until Soorajee's huge debt was clear Wukutchund continued his control over the Chief of Rajkot and to the British Government Wukutchund remained for all practical purpose the legal proprietor of Soorajee's Talook. It is really very interesting to note that for an act of infanticide how Soorajee had to encounter complicated arrangements jointly with the British Government and Shet Wukutchund. Such arrangement was entirely in favour of Willoughby and his mission. His primary concern was to stop infanticide-practice at any cost and to this end Soorajee's case provided him with a rare opportunity to hurl decisive blows on the hydra-headed orthodox sentiments of the Jharejas about infanticide. Supremacy of the British power over the native Chiefs of the Jharejas was unquestionably established through their consistent anti-infanticide movements. British relations with the native Chiefs and their dependents entered, thus, a momentous phase which foreshadowed many significant phases of developments of the immediate past.

Willoughby's remarkable success during the current decade received high appreciation from the Honorable Court of Directors, East India Company at London. It was recorded on 27 April, 1836 that the measures taken by the Government of Bombay for the suppression of Infanticide in *Kattywar* was "highly creditable" and satisfactory, but they regretted that the *practice was still prevailing very extensively*, though, meanwhile, "a great and progressive decrease" had been effected by the competent British Officers stationed at *Kattywar* (Gujarat). They emphasised also "to enlist feelings of the Jhareja community" on the Government's side to ensure complete extinction of the horrid custom from Gujarat. They were found to have concurred with Willoughby's opinion which reads as follows: "In short, unless we are able to carry public opinion with us and inflict such penalties only as are likely to be recognised as just by the respectable portion of the community, our endeavours in the cause of humanity will be long retarded, or may altogether fail." From these few lines should one presume that the Jharejas in general were still feeling deeply concerned and agitated for the high-handed actions of the white-

skinned Administrators against the Chief of Rajkot and other respectabilities of their community?

Multiple developments of immense importance took place between 1826-1836 to add momentum to anti-infanticide movements in Gujarat, and concurrently, the significance and efficacy of census to gather basic data on population for administrative purpose was proved beyond any conjecture. Census of demographic composition of both sexes among the Jharejaṣ constituted an important and fruitful tool to the British Rulers in their fight against the odious crime of female infanticide. As a matter of fact, commission of an organised census-operation may be taken as one of the most tangible achievements of the Government of Bombay during the period under reference.

REFERENCE-NOTES :

1. *Translation of Notes* received from the Karkoon stationed at Santulpoor and Chorar, containing Lists of *Female Children preserved* by the Jharejas of that Talooks, in conformity to the Engagement entered into by the Chiefs on the 3rd March, 1827, dated 18th August, 1827 and 2nd August, 1828; also *Translation of Notes* received from the Karkoon at Charchate, dated 21st November, 1827 and 20th July, 1828.

(a) AT THE TOWN OF SANTULPOOR

1. Jhareja Nathajee Rajsinghane, a daughter, born 27th July, 1827, named Adibae, now living.

2. Jhareja Kesurjee, a daughter, born 13th March, 1828, named Majeebu, now living.

3. Jhareja Arjoonjee, a daughter, born 10th June, 1828, named Adiba, now living.

4. Jhareja Pryangjee, a daughter, born 6th June, 1828, named Moteeba, now living.

(b) AT THE VILLAGE OF PURR

5. Jhareja Dujoojee, a daughter, born 17th August, 1827, named Bajeeba, now living.

6. Jhareja Anund Sing, a daughter, born 1st June, 1828, named Adiba, now living.

(c) AT THE VILLAGE OF BARRA

7. Jhareja Kesurjee, a daughter, born 28th May, 1827, named Heemjeeba, now living.

8. Jhareja Runajee, a daughter, born 9th January, 1828, named Jeebeba, now living.

9. Jhareja Dujoojee, a daughter, born 23rd January, 1828, named Rujbae, now living.

10. Jhareja Dadajee, a daughter, born 19th June, 1828, named Deobae, now living.

(d) AT THE VILLAGE OF CHARUNKA

11. Jhareja Muloojee, a daughter, born 21st April, 1827, and named Bairaj, now living.

(e) AT THE VILLAGE OF SONETEE

12. Thakoor Jhareja, a daughter, born 21st November, 1827, not named at that period, now living.

(f) AT THE VILLAGE OF LIMBONEE

13. Jhareja Maunjee, a daughter, born 20th July, 1828, now living-
(True translation)

W. MILES, Lieutenant Colonel,
Political Agent.

2. Mr. J. P. Willoughby's proposed *PROCLAMATION to be issued on the subject of Female Infanticide in Kattywar by the Government of Bombay.*

The British Government having recently had under consideration the prevalence of Female Infanticide in Western India, is pleased to declare it to be its fixed determination to put an end to so revolting

and barbarous a practice. From returns lately received from the Political Agent stationed in Kattywar, it appears that although a considerable degree of success has attended the measures adopted in that province for the suppression of Infanticide, *the crime is proved to be still committed*, by the great disproportion observable in the number of male and female Jharejas. This melancholy fact, therefore, pressing itself upon the attention of Government, the Right Honorable the Governor in Council considers it requisite to call upon the Chiefs of the Jhareja tribe to adhere to, and maintain within their respective districts the engagements they voluntarily and unconditionally entered into with Government twenty-five years ago, through the medium of their friend and benefactor, the late lamented Colonel Alexander Walker, to abandon the detestable and heinous custom of murdering their own offspring.

His Lordship in Council further requires the active co-operation of the *whole community* of Kattywar in giving increased efficiency to the measures adopted for the extinction of Infanticide, the grossest stain that ever disgraced the human race; and hereby declares, that whoever shall afford information sufficient to convict any Jhareja of so inhuman a proceeding shall receive the protection of Government, and be rewarded in proportion to the rank and consequence of the party convicted. Humanity and a due regard to the precepts of their religion should induce the Hindoo part of the community in particular to pad, by every means in their power, the efforts of Government completely to suppress the crime. The Hindoo Shasters declare that he who commits Infanticide is guilty of a grievous sin, (From this place to the end of the paragraph was omitted from the Proclamation as issued by order of Government on the 22nd November, 1834) equal to that of *Gurbhutteea*, or the murder of infants by causing abortion; and to that of *Brimhutteea*, or the murder of Brahmins. They in fact declare, that to kill one Brahmin is equal to killing 100 cows; to kill one woman is equal to killing 100 Brahmins : *to kill one child of either sex is equal to killing 100 women*; and to kill 100 children of either sex is an offence too heinous for comparison. The punishment awarded is in proportion to the magnitude of the crime : the murderer is doomed to suffer the most dreadful torments in the hell called *Neruk*, and, when born again, will be afflicted with leprosy or paralysis.

With the view of enabling Government to ascertain how far the measures for the suppression of Infanticide are adhered to, the Political Agent has been instructed to make *a full and complete census* of the Jhareja population of Kattywar; and the Chiefs of the tribe are hereby called upon to aid in the framing of this return, which, when completed, will at once enable Government to detect, where the crime is still committed. The Political Agent has also been directed to require from the Chiefs half-yearly, and himself to furnish annually, a statement exhibiting the number of births, deaths, marriages, and betrothals occurring within their respective jurisdictions; and those who neglect to furnish this statement, or who may furnish an incorrect return, will be severely punished.

As a measure of prevention against Infanticide, Government considers it expedient to suggest to the whole of the other Rajpoot tribes of Kattywar that they should refuse to give their own daughters in marriage

to the Jharejas, except under a stipulation that the female issue of such marriage shall be cherished and preserved.

The returns recently received from Kattywar show, in the under-mentioned districts, such a great disparity between the number of male and female Jharejas as can only be accounted for by the continued prevalence of the dreadful crime in those places :—

No.	Talookas	Males alive	Females alive	Excess of Males
1.	Drappa			
2.	Moorvee	... 67	10	57
3.	Veerpoor Khureeree	... 61	7	54
4.	Mooleeladeree	... 52	10	42
5.	Seesang Chandlee	... 63	14	49
6.	Kotara Nyajee	... 37	13	24
7.	Jhallia	... 24	2	22
8.	Rajpoora	... 28	11	17
9.	Wudalee	... 30	2	28
10.	Rajkot	... 8	1	7
		... 15	3	12

The Chiefs of these districts are hereby warned, that should similar results be shown from the *periodical returns* hereafter to be furnished, they will be severely punished for not adhering to their engagements to renounce the crime. It will not be deemed sufficient by Government that they themselves shall adhere to their engagements to preserve their female children, but they are equally bound to secure that those engagements are observed by every member of their tribe subject to their authority. Should they neglect this warning, it will become requisite for the Government to take into consideration whether any relations can be maintained with Chiefs who act in such a manner as to prove themselves utterly regardless of the precepts of their religion, and of the best feelings of mankind. In seeking to abolish infanticide, the British Government is not actuated by any motive of ambition or self-interest, but simply by an anxious desire to erase the foulest stain that ever attached to the name of man. The possessions of the Chiefs of Kattywar are guaranteed to them, and protection is extended to them, on certain conditions, and it is the sincere wish of Government that they should continue to enjoy them, and all their privileges and immunities, free from molestation. The compact is, however, reciprocal and mutual, and the Chiefs have stipulated that they will cease to disgrace humanity by destroying their own helpless offspring at the moment of its birth. Should they not adhere to this condition, the compact is broken, the favour and protection of Government will be withdrawn, and the severest penalties be imposed until the inhuman custom is completely eradicated.

It is more gratifying to Government to be able to notice some of the Jhareja Chiefs in whose districts the crime has been wholly or in a great measure suppressed. The Jam of Nowanuggur is entitled to praise for the progress which has been made towards its complete extinction within his jurisdiction, which is to be attributed to the care taken by that Chief in enforcing a due observance of the engagement he entered into for its

suppression. The British Government confidently relies on his continued exertions and co-operation in ensuring success to the measures it has adopted for the abolition of a custom which, owing its origin to avarice and a mistaken pride, reflects most seriously on the character of the tribe, of which the Jam of Nowanuggur is in Kattywar the acknowledged head.

Among the other Talookas, Government is pleased to notice, in terms of high approbation, the following Chiefs as having ensured to themselves the favour and protection of Government for having adhered to their engagements :—

No.	Districts	Males of and under 20 yrs.	Females						
			Married	Betrothed	Unbetrothed	Deceased	Total	Excess of Males	Excess of Females
1.	Keesurra	12	3	2	11	1	17	...	5
2.	Mengnee	6	...	1	5	...	6	...	...
3.	Satodur Wawree	38	6	5	13	8	32	6	...

And at the same time to hold up to the tribe in general, as an example for imitation, the undermentioned Jharejas, who have preserved *four and three daughters each* :—

No.	Name.	Belonging to		No. of Daughters
		District	Village	
1.	Jhareja Khanjee	Nowanuggur	Lalpoor	Four
2.	" Bawajee	Ditto	Balwa	Three
3.	" Raibjee	Ditto	Machurda	"
4.	" Dossajee	Ditto	Peempurdee	"
5.	" Khanturjee	Ditto	Peepulyoo	"
6.	" Doedajee	Ditto	Seeguch	"
7.	" Babajee	Ditto	Danthana	"
8.	" Bawajee	Ditto	Pussawoo	"
9.	" Megrajee	Ditto	Amra	"
10.	" Hurbumjee	Ditto	Checkaree	"
11.	" Sugajee	Dherol	Radhur	"
12.	" Joonajee	Ditto	Lechalho	Four
13.	" Vursajee	Gondul Dorajee	Janjmere	Three
14.	Khemance Roopabhaee	Veerpoor Khureree	Mettia	"
15.	Jhareja Lakajee	Keesurra	Durra	"

Government have also derived the greatest satisfaction from observing that the returns show as many as *eighty instances of Jharejas having preserved two daughters each*. His Lordship in Council, with the view of testifying the sense he entertains of the meritorious conduct of the Chiefs and inferior Jharejas above alluded to, has instructed the Political

Agent at Rajkot to grant *remissions of tribute* and honorary presents to them.

The British Government is pleased further to declare, that although it will always be more satisfactory to Government, and more creditable to the Jharejas themselves, for them to perform the first of parental duties, without seeking pecuniary aid from Government in defraying the expenses of the marriage of their children, nevertheless that the local Agent is authorised to receive and attend to applications when circumstances render such aid indispensable.

In conclusion, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to annex to this proclamation a copy of the engagement by which every Jhareja Chief of Kattywar bound himself, twenty-five years ago, to discontinue the dreadful custom of Female Infanticide; and at the same time to declare it to be the fixed resolution of the British Government to maintain the same, and that any person charged with having violated it will *either be placed on his trial for the heinous crime of "child-murder" before the High Court of Criminal Justice recently established in Kattywar, or be dealt with in such other mode as may be deemed most expedient, and conducive towards the complete suppression of the practice.*

Published by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay.

(Signed) J. P. WILLOUGHBY,
Political Agent in
Kattywar.

3. Three documents referred to are as follows :

(i) *RAJA CHUNDERSINGJEE, of Wankneer, writes as follows:—*

Whereas the Jhareja people formerly put their daughters to death, thereby committing a sin of great enormity; and Colonel Walker, in Sumvut 1864, caused them to enter into engagements to abandon the inhuman custom, and preserve their female offspring for the future; but notwithstanding this the Chief of Rajkot, Sirdar Jhareja Soorajee, disregarded and broke this engagement, and put a daughter to death, which case of infanticide was investigated in the month of October 1834, and the crime proved by means of witnesses; it therefore became necessary to call upon him to furnish security that he would not commit such a dreadful deed in future, and he has named me : I therefore agree to become perpetual security for him, and accordingly execute this writing, to the effect that Jhareja Soorajee shall inform the Sirkar whenever the birth of a child may be expected in his family, and that he shall never injure or threaten Patel Lukmon's mother, or any other people or their relations, who may have given evidence in the case of Infanticide against him; that he shall act agreeably to, and maintain the engagements formerly affected by the Sirkar for the preservation of the daughters of Jharejas, and the proclamation dated 22nd November 1834 issued on the same subject; and that Jhareja Soorajee shall punctually inform the Sirkar of any breach of these engagements which may occur within his Talooka. I have become security for him in case he may not inform the Sirkar of any case of Infanticide coming within his knowledge, or uphold and maintain the engagements for the abolition of this horrid

custom, and am therefore bound to see the same done, and responsible to Government for any breach that may hereafter arise.

This writing is duly signed, Ashad Shoodh 15th, Sumvut 1891 (corresponding with 6th October A.D. 1835).

(Signed) JHALLA CHUNDERSINJEE,

And for him by KOOER WUKUTSINGJEE.

- (ii) *Translation of a letter from JHAREJA SOORAJEE, of Rajkot, to J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esq., Political Agent, dated Shrawun Vud 10th, Sumvut 1892 (corresponding with 18th August A.D. 1835).*

Your letter of the 20th June has been received. You have therein written that I am to pay a fine of Rs. 12,000. My circumstances are insufficient to enable me to pay this sum at once. I beg, therefore, you will do me the favour to settle some way in which I can do it. You have further written that I am to inform you beforehand of births likely to take place in my family. This is well, and I shall do so. In regard to your request that I should furnish security to abstain from the custom of putting my daughters to death in future. I beg to state that I am determined to renounce the custom. My possessions are entirely under the Sirkar; but if, notwithstanding this, you should wish me to give security, I shall duly same. I have, agreeably to your orders, banished Mehtas Bulwunt, Joeta, and Dulputram Kooshall from my Talooka. In respect to Patel Lukmon's mother and the other persons who have evidence in my case, or any of their relations, not suffering, as you have written, any harm at my hands, I beg to state that Patel Lukmon is as a son of the Durbar, and there is no one higher in its estimation than he is. I have, notwithstanding, this day called him into my presence, and spoken to him in terms of encouragement and confidence before four Sowkars, and two other persons, whom I had summoned on the occasion. The proclamation regarding the daughters of Jharejas which you have transmitted has been received, and I shall take the measures it directs. Whatever the Sirkar does is designed exclusively for our good, and I am therefore obedient to its wishes. I beg you will fix some way in which I can pay the fine imposed on me, and withdraw the attachment on my Talooka. The Character of my place depends on the Sirkar.

- (iii) To SHET WUKUTCHUND KOOSHALLCHUND, JHAREJA SOORAJEE, of Rajkot Sirdhar, writes as follows :—

Whereas I had, through the British Government, appointed you my Hamee (security) for the payment of the tribute and Zoor Tulbee due from my Talooka for seven years, from Sumvut 1885 to Sumvut 1891, both years inclusive, and you have, according to the terms of the Mootalib entered into on that occasion, fully paid the Jam, though I have been unable to reimburse you the whole amount, and consequently, on an examination of the accounts between us for that period, a balance of Rs. 45,000, including the yearly interest, is due by me on the 2nd of Magh Shoodh, Sumvut 1892 : I have, therefore, paid you the sum of Rs. 12,000 within that month, and a balance of Rs. 33,000 now remains due to you. I agree to liquidate this debt by three instalments, as follows :—

FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN INDIA

On the 2nd Falgoon Shoodh, Sumvut 1893	...	Rs. 11,000
Ditto Ditto 1894	...	Rs. 11,000
Ditto Ditto 1895	...	Rs. 11,000
Total		Rs. 33,000

This sum of Rs. 33,000 is to be paid to you in the above manner without interest. Should, however, a balance remain due to you of any instalment after the period fixed for its payment, the same shall be payable with interest at three-fourths per cent. per mensem. The liquidation of this debt will be provided for according to the former Mootalib (agreement), by the mortgage of the whole revenues of my Purguna, from which it will therefore be paid in full.

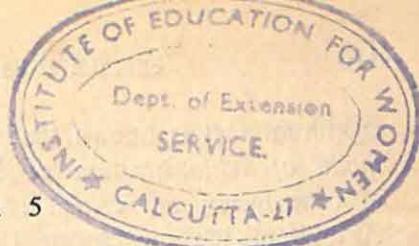
On the termination of the period fixed for the 3rd instalment, nothing shall remain due to you. This agreement has been entered into in the presence of Captain Lang, Acting Political Agent on the part of the Honourable Company, and no difference will take place. In case I should make any, the British Government will maintain the engagement. *Magh Vud 5th, Sunday, Sumvut 1892 (corresponding with 7th February A.D. 1836).*

In the handwriting of RAMJEE NARRONJEE, signed by JHAREJA SOORAJEE.

(True translations)

(Signed) W. LANG,

Acting Political Agent.



FOURTH PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS : ANTI-INFANTICIDE MOVEMENT AT CROSS-ROADS : 1836-1844

(A) MR. JAMES ERSKINE'S VIEWS AND ACTIONS

Punishment inflicted upon the Chief of Rajkot and other Jharejas of inferior ranks highlighted the coercive measures that were very vigorously championed by Mr. J. P. Willoughby to suppress the crime of infanticide in Kattywar (Gujarat) in the last few years before 1836. Willoughby made a debut in proving himself as the pioneer inquisitor of the offences of infanticide which the Jharejas for centuries were practising as one of their many important social customs. To their social understanding infanticide was never a 'crime', rather the same was an unavoidable institution to them. Attack in any form on this age-old institution would naturally evoke strong reactions amongst them. Assessment of the magnitude and intensity of such reactions was perhaps outside the immediate purview of Willoughby and his Government. He was more eager to utilise his enormous power in promoting stern actions against Jhareja Soorajee. His plan of actions was to exert a *strategic push* to the anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar through Soorajee's case. He was more inclined to teach an exemplary lesson to all infanticide-practising natives of India by his harsh and punitive treatment against Soorajee. It is needless to mention that in his own estimation Willoughby had obvious reasons to be satisfied with the very subdued condition of the Jharejas. They were strongly expected not to recur the abominable practice at the cost of utter humiliation and financial loss which even Chief Soorajee as Chief of Rajkot had to suffer very badly in Willoughby's hand.

Under the special circumstances, how far Willoughby's coercive measures against infanticide could bring a lasting effect on the Jharejas? Answer to this logical query could be gathered by appraising the objective situation of the posterity. Mr. J. Erskine, Political Agent in Kattywar, was found in these hours to make an assessment of the progress so far made by the British Rulers amongst the Jharejas. From his lengthy despatch of 30 June, 1837 to the Chief Secretary, Bombay Government, one

significant fact is known that by middle of 1830's *Willoughby's mode of administration in Kattywar had become a subject of controversy and criticism* and Erskine was his mouthpiece. Anti-infanticide movements that began as early as 1805 and continued with many interruptions up to the end of 1835 happened currently to reach at cross-roads under the impact of some fresh thinking on future British policy pertaining to suppression of 'child murder' in Kattywar. Erskine was pioneer to inject completely a new outlook in the administrative super-structure in estimating the 'output' resulted primarily from Col. Walker's and Mr. Willoughby's express actions against infanticide. He caused a new perspective to grow not only in the mind of the British Administrators but also in the mind of the local people of Gujarat. His line of arguments for and against the current administrative measures against infanticide was to a large extent instrumental in bringing about a qualitative change in British policy that was pursued in succeeding years to ensure a lasting improvement in the Jhareja society.

In his long report Erskine began with an evaluation of Willoughby's actions towards suppression of infanticide precisely in 1835 and 1836. He submitted also a *fresh census* of the Jhareja people to compare with that of Willoughby. Particular reference was made by him to those trial cases which were attended and investigated by Willoughby and Lang to punish the accused Jharejas concerned. It was painful to experience how on ground of *mere suspicion* several Jharejas of different ranks were harassed and insulted. Apart from the cases of Jhareja Soorajee, Jhareja Veerajee of Khureesra, Jhareja Bugwanjee and his son Jhareja Deengajee (reported earlier) *ten more cases* were cited in Erskine's letter. It is known that on 14 December, 1835 Jhareja *Khengarjee* of Tromba Bhyad was taken into inquisition, but the case could not be proved. On 12 December, 1835 Jhareja *Dajee* of Guddra village was committed into trial for his offence of infanticide which was actually executed in September, 1833. His case was proved in open trial and he was fined Rs. 100. Again, on 10 March, 1836 Jhareja *Seesabhaee* of Katra Nyajee was accused on the basis of a false report and he was acquitted subsequently. Similarly, cases against Jhareja *Ubhesing* and *Bugwanjee* of Gunode could not be established. They belonged to the Gondul Bhyad and their harassment was tantamount to direct insult to the Chief of

Gondul. This undersirable event took place on 29 April, 1836. Another important incident took place on 12 June, 1836 in connection with a false charge of infanticide against Jhareja *Bewajee*, brother of the Chief of Shapoor. Though this case could not be proved, the principal *Grasia* (Royal head) of Shapoor Talook was asked to renew his engagement on his brother's behalf. Additionally, a fine of Rs. 50 was imposed on him for not inserting the birth and death of his niece in the the register. During this period three more Jharejas, namely *Moteebae* of Mooleeladerie Talook, and other two of Gutka and Rajpoora Talooks were branded as offender only on strong suspicion. Their cases were, of course, not referred to the Government of Bombay. Lastly, on 6 October, 1836, son of Jhareja *Dewajee* of Sujonpoor, uncle to the Chief of Moorve was tried and his crime could be finally established to impose appropriate penalty of fine on him.

Most of the above cases make one issue very clear that but for the custom of female infanticide many Jharejas were most unfortunately subjected under harsh treatment over almost two years. In this period the Jharejas in general had to feel concerned and agitated not only for the mighty officers of Willoughby but also for those greedy informers who aspired to encash their information—true or false—about any commission of infanticide in any Jhareja family. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why so many trials cases became abortive in want of concrete proof. Excess of British administration as well as informers' enthusiasm created appallingly such a situation in Kattywar that a *postmortem* examination of Willoughby's coercive methods and reactions to the same became essential to Erskine. His contention in this regard would be discussed later.

Meanwhile, attention is drawn to the demographic data collected by Erskine by "actual survey" in contrast to those gathered by Willoughby from the Jhareja Chiefs. In his 'actual survey' Nowanugger Talook was, of course, excluded for some unavoidable factors. While presenting his data Erskine happened to remark that Willoughby's report on population of certain age-groups for some Talooks was 'defective'. Excluding children of 1 year and under, who were born subsequently to the date of Mr. Willoughby's account (1834), a comparison of two sets of demographic data reveals the following state of development in Jhareja population by 30 June, 1837.

Talooks	Willoughby's data		Erskine's data	
	male	female	male	female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Dherol	208	84	196	80
2. Gondul	86	44	289	85
3. Moorvee	61	7	259	38
4. Rajkot	15	3	21	5
5. Drappa	67	10	84	10
6. Veerpoor	52	10	55	13
7. Moolecladeree	63	14	36	8
8. Seesang Chandlee	37	13	42	15
9. Satodur Wowree	38	24	74	22
10. Kotra Nyajee	24	2	28	2
11. Keersurra	12	16	30	13
12. Rajpoora	30	2	32	2
13. Jhallia	28	11	36	8
14. Mallia	16	4	31	13
15. Lodeeka	9	2	15	2
16. Mengnee	6	6	11	6
17. Paal	5	1	7	2
18. Bharwa	18	2	6	2
19. Veerwa	2	0	2	0
20. Kotaria	3	1	3	1
21. Shapoor	3	0	12	0
22. Wudalee	8	1	8	1
23. Kotra Sanganee	3	1	13	3
24. Kaksiallee	4	2	5	2
25. Mowa	2	1	3	1
26. Gowreedur	5	0	8	1
27. Gutka	4	1	4	2
28. All Talooks	809	262	1310	337

Willoughby's return came to public in September, 1834 and in less than two years' time Erskine's enumeration was available to mark an extraordinary rise in the number of male children at the expense of a meagre change in the size of the female children. In 1834 altogether 1071 Jhareja children and youngs of both sexes were found alive in twenty seven districts (Talooks)

and the female individuals under reference constituted only 24 per cent of the total population concerned. In 1837 altogether 1647 Jhareja males and females of younger ages were recorded from the same twenty seven districts, but now the contribution of the female individuals did not exceed 20 per cent of the total. Decrease in the strength of the females in the total population in question within less than 2 years signifies at once that the Jharejas essentially defied all strong measures of Willoughby to maintain their *social right* of infanticide of female infants. Erskine commented that in case of Gondul the defective returns led Willoughby to think too favourably for the Jharejas of the said Talook.

From the latest census of 1837 it is gathered that altogether 424 females of all ages were then alive in the Jhareja society and amongst them 4 were widows, 70 were married, 92 were betrothed and 258 remained unmarried. On the otherhand, casualties of female individuals since Willoughby's return were only 9. These females deceased in various ages ranging from 10 days to 22 years. Erskine undertook additional labour to prepare an exhaustive list of all male and female children and youngs for each district (Talook) under each age-level from 1 year to 20 years. He maintained the tradition of Willoughby in this specific task but with a distinct improvement. *Talook-wise* distribution of the population under reference was not available in 1834's return but 1837's enumeration made up the deficiency. From the table showing number of males and females by age and by certain age-intervals within 1 to 20 years several interesting demographic facts are available to verify the claim for an unique success in the anti-infanticide campaign by the predecessors of Erskine. The figures (marshalled below in the table A) referred to all males and females (of specific ages under consideration) who were surviving between 1834 (time of Willoughby's return) and 1836 (time of Erskine's return) and accordingly the total number of population would not tally with the actual number given by Erskine for each Talook.

Demographic facts are as follows: (i) amongst the Jhareja infants of age 1 and under the female infants accounted for only 37 per cent and this means clearly that the preservation of male infants was more frequent in the Jhareja families. *Sex-ratio* in this particular age-level was 168.5 that is, for every 100 female infants there were almost 169 male infants. This single demo-

TABLE A (Contd.)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)
15. Wudale	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
16. Gutka	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
17. Paal	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0
18. Veerwa	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19. Bhadwa	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
20. Kataria	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
21. Kotra Nyaje	31	5	0	1	2	0	0	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	3	1	1	0	9	0	3	3	1	0
22. Secsang Chandlee	51	15	1	3	1	0	0	0	8	2	2	1	7	0	10	4	3	4	10	1	4	5	1	2	0	0
23. Mallia	32	15	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	3	2	7	2	1	1	8	0	6	2	4	10	1	9	0	0	0
24. Keersura	33	16	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	3	4	7	3	4	1	3	4	3	1	6	0	3	3	0	0	0
25. Kaksia	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
26. Moorvee	279	51	6	0	8	1	4	0	32	7	28	6	25	6	25	4	44	4	42	4	68	12	20	13	2	0
27. Veerpoore Khuree	62	18	0	1	3	0	0	1	6	2	10	1	6	3	11	2	9	9	1	10	2	4	5	3	0	0
28. All Talooks :	1422	409	38	13	45	12	26	10	155	46	180	55	108	24	217	70	197	38	321	65	123	73	12	3		

* m denotes male and f denotes female.

graphic feature was sufficient to indicate the actual state of affairs amongst the Jharejas by the middle of 1830s, (ii) in the next higher age-group (2-4 years) the number of male children was decidedly in excess over the female children. *Sex-ratio* was 495.4, that is, the male children were almost *five times more* than the female children precisely in that period when Willoughby's firm coercive actions prevailed enormously on the Jharejas. It may be reasonably presumed that Willoughby's measures against the custom were instrumental to improve the *sex-ratio* in recent months, (iii) highly disbalanced *sex-ratio* prevailed also under all ages from 5 to 20 years. The number of male boys were a little more than three times over the number of female girls falling under the age-group 7-9 years, (iv) Jharejas of Moorva and Gondul districts contributed most glaringly to effect such demographic trends. In Moorve *sex-ratio* (number of males per 100 females) turned out to be 547.1, while in Gondul the same happened to be 335.1. In the third important Jhareja Talook of Dherol for every 100 females 236.4 males were counted. The condition that was prevailing in the said three most populous Talooks was more or less true for the remaining twenty four Talooks of the Jharejas. Such profound disparity in sexes in Kattywar even in the middle of the third decade of the nineteenth century confirmed the fact that in spite of all anti-infanticide methods employed by British Government during the last twenty five years the Jharejas continued to pay reverence and importance to one of their age-old social practices. They did not eschew the detestable practice, only the intensity of the action of child-killing became low.

Social-psychological motive for infanticide that was operating still amongst the Jharejas could not be fully wiped out through Engagements, intimidation, power pressure, imposition of fines and open inquisitions and imprisonments. It appears that the Jharejas as a group was defending their *social right* over a traditional custom and as such their sufferings were but for a noble cause. Willoughby was no respecter of any Jhareja of any social rank to abolish at any cost the inhuman actions for child-murder and it was no wonder that with respect to his specific task he did not care much to read the inevitable repercussions and reactions of the accused, harrassed and insulted Jharejas. More the Jharejas were exposed to strong interceptions of the British Administrators more they were perhaps

drawn closer to the task of defending some inalienable social right over their domestic custom. Commission of female infanticide with complete disregard for natural and parental affection and obligation turned out presumably to be a grand symbol of a silent but forceful protest of the Jharejas against undesirable transgressions by a foreign power into their domestic affairs. Erskine's latest exposition of the demographic situation prevailing in Kattywar in 1837 was a serious pointer to the above circumstances and he had the occasion to make introspections in accessing the *net* gain profited by his own Government in Kattywar through the high actions of Col. Walker, Capt. Ballantine, Capt. Barnewall, and Mr. Willoughby against the infanticide-practice. No encouraging sign noticing any quick decline in the incidences of female infanticide was available to make Erskine satisfied. Rather, from his on-the-spot enquiry he came to learn a pitiful social situation for which he was not prepared perhaps.

He was, thus, found to have stated that "there are 123 male Jharejas, *of the age of one year and under*, now alive, and 73 females. This must be admitted to be highly satisfactory to the cause of humanity, as proving that, in consequence of the measures put in force, 73 female infants have been preserved during the 18 months immediately subsequent to the proclamation . . . there is every hope that the two Talooks of Moorve and Drappa have effected an abolition of the atrocious practice in their respective limits. . . . The state of Gondul Talook is very melancholy : the number being 36 to 12 in the year following the proclamation. In the smaller Talooks, many of which consist of only a few houses of Jharejas, there is hardly a female child preserved, Rajpoor being the worst,"

Erskine was prompt enough to go at the root of such 'melancholy' developments which took place since the promulgation of the Proclamation in Kattywar and in doing so he attempted an excellent but critical appraisal of both *coercive* and *sumptuary measures* adopted so far by Willoughby against the crime. He commented on the very *system* which was in force for suppressing the odious practice and according to him, the measures hitherto adopted had been 'in some respects defective and insufficient towards the final extinction of the practice' and such measures were not likely, if pursued, 'to be productive of effectual success, unless under certain modifications'. He was bold to express that Willoughby's measures were 'too partial and

superficial and not of that comprehensive and *radical* nature.' In the near past the singular need for *preservation* of female children had continually been emphasised by the appropriate officers of the Company and accordingly their anti-infanticide actions were oriented. Preservation of only one female child by any Jhareja father was always treated as a praiseworthy deed and once such preservation was noticed the British officers concerned became immediately satisfied with their actions. They seemed to lose the *urge* in pursuing the matter any further with respect to the female child thus preserved and her parents. As soon as any news of preservation reached the officers on duty they at once felt victorious. Government officials only desired to receive gratifying news of preservation of female children and for that they were not prepared to accommodate any 'plea' of the Jharejas who failed to make such preservation. Desire was genuine but the Jharejas' social—psychological upbringing was such that they felt handicapped to appreciate such desire. Yet their 'failures' were humiliated and penalised. Truly speaking, British rulers intended to instill extremely quickly their superior logic and understanding about the *demerits* of the social practice of infanticide amongst the Jhareja elites and less educated persons of Kattywar. But, the social reality was that the Jharejas could not forthwith relinquish one of their old customs. The censuses made it clear that in almost all Talooks, except one or two, the Jharejas were in habit to commit the crime even in the face of the earnest exertions of the British Government. They preferred to adhere obviously to the practice of infanticide that was handed down to them by their forefathers than to be convinced by the arguments of the foreigners against such practice.

Erskine said that even Col. Walker did not perhaps contemplate 'what an enormous revolution the abolition of the practice would create in the Rajpoot community, and that, therefore, what serious obstacles would inevitably present themselves to the endeavours to effect this object' of abolition of the heinous act. Measures of *radical* nature were absent in the plan of actions of Walker or his successors who believed, rather, in the brutal and quick measures. According to Erskine, social and economic factors that might have been responsible to keep the practice in general use amongst the Jharejas for many generations missed the attention of the previous officers. Erskine's predecessors underestimated one important sociological

problem that the poor, illiterate Jharejas, the bulk of the tribe, were for generations experiencing untold sufferings in marrying their daughters on the current 'expensive and ruinous terms'. Their plight was known from the report of Capt. Barnewall who estimated that even an ordinary Jhareja father of inferior rank had to incur minimum Rs. 1500 in giving one daughter in marriage. He estimated in June, 1825 that by 1837 as many as 183 daughters would become eligible for marriage amongst the Jhareja families only of the fourth and last rank and the marriage—expenses that would have to be spent by these Jharejas would amount to Rs. 2,74,500. Barnewall's estimate exposed the enormity of the financial burden of the poor Jharejas. Under the circumstances, excessive patronage that was given by the Jharejas for female infanticide for years together to avoid financial ruin could not obviously be rectified without removing the *basic cause of over-expenditure in marriages*. Erskine advocated for the first time to wage battle against those fundamental social factors which were still responsible to enliven such orthodox and baneful practices amongst the Jharejas. His opinion was to improve social anomalies and economic hardships of the people of Kattywar and thereby tackle the root cause of infanticide. Any coercive measure on the part of the Government would only aggravate the situation without earning any radical change in Jharejas' way of living and mental thinking. Erskine's bold criticism of the actions which had already been promulgated in Kathiawar run as follows :

(a) Sudden and unexpected measures taken by the Government in 1834 and 1835 at the instance of Willoughby failed to achieve any miracle in effecting total abolition of the barbarous custom, but the same caused unprecedented terror and commotion amongst the Jharejas. Before Willoughby's strong intervention 'an apparent apathy' towards the problem of infanticide prevailed amongst the British officials and their local agents for a long time and the Jharejas had good reasons to believe that white-skinned rulers of Kathiawar would no longer show much anxiety for one of their domestic issues. Consequently, the original custom relapsed and spread quickly among them. It was long after Col. Walker's strong interference with the Jharejas Mr. Willoughby appeared in the picture to cast awful pressure on the Jharejas to make them all of a sudden dissociated from female infanticide for good. His coercive measures demanded

of Gowreedur, one of the Rajkot Bhyad, who was the first and principal informer in Soorajee's case was poisoned by Soorajee's mother herself. This depraved and cruel woman was later sent to prison for her crime.

(c) Next, Erskine argued that rigorous investigation that was ordered by Government for the trial of each offender and subsequent commission of heavy punishment that was promptly imposed upon the culprits might have been enormously effective to cow down the orthodox spirit of the Jharejas but such high-handed actions were equally helpful to turn the people more vigilant in concealing the crime. The Jharejas were only goaded to rear covert hostility against the British officials stationed in Kattywar on one hand and to turn nationally more rigid to uphold 'notorious pride' of their own social customs including female infanticide. As a matter of fact, Government's measures in this specific aspect contained in themselves 'the elements of perpetuating the crime for ever'. Erskine did not hesitate to expose the fallacy which remained inherent in the current British policy for suppression of infanticide.

Moreover, these rigorous investigations which were executed under the order of Willoughby brought such a threat to the very honourable existence of the Jhareja Rajpoots that the other Rajpoots had to feel deeply concerned with the contemporaneous developments in Jhareja society. As every Jhareja had in his house the sister, or daughter of some Jetwa, Jhalla, Gohel or Waghela, with whom he was on terms of friendship and marital ties his personal dishonour or any kind of risk could not but affect the in-laws' families concerned. Erskine noted very rightly in this connection that 'the private affairs of one's sister or daughter are almost as sacred to a Rajpoot as of a wife, so that the whole community is against us, and not the Jharejas alone'. To establish his contention Erskine prompted to cite a document of petition which was executed before Willoughby by as many as twenty Jhareja respectabilities of six important groups (*Bhyad*) of related families of Kattywar in the event of Soorajee's case (1836). In the text of the *petition* one finds that 'neither the European gentlemen nor principal Bhoomias kept a strict surveillance, in consequence of which some ignorant persons may have violated these engagements unknowingly From henceforward Colonel Walker's arrangements shall be acted up to, viz., that from this time

forward no one among the Jharejas shall put his daughter to death....'

It is further gathered from Erskine that Jhareja *Dewajee* of the Moorme Bhyad, the chief proponent of the above petition, and Jhalla *Kallajee* had the occasion to refer to the said document of petition to Erskine and they said that had Government asserted to their prayer then preferred, infanticide would have been by this time abolished. 'The rich and powerful Jharejas will always be able to conceal their guilt, while the rigorous system will tell only against those who have not the power to suppress evidence.' *A measure having for its object such partiality was necessarily and obviously defective.* This was Erskine's expressed opinion.

(d) Fourth serious defect in Willoughby's coercive measures against infanticide-practising Jharejas was pointed out by Erskine in this line that 'the transfer of responsibility from Chiefs to vassals' created a bad precedent in British policy of native administration. This system was 'subversive of the principles on which Col. Walker framed his able settlement of this distracted territory in 1807'. The basis of Walker's system of administration consisted in requiring 'the Chiefs to be responsible for their Bhyads and Ryuts'. But 'the rigorous investigations', Erskine remarked, 'into the domestic concerns of individuals, without reference to the Chiefs showed the departure from the original system on which Government has based its interference in the affairs of this peninsula'.

(e) The manner in which the Jhareja offender concerned was tried before the Court of Criminal Justice was seriously objected by Erskine. He observed: 'to try the very people who commit the crime by their brothers and instigators needs only to be mentioned to demonstrate its inutility.... To select Kattee and Mussulman assessors would have the effect of impressing the Rajpoots with an idea of injustice and, besides, would have the worst effect of creating feuds and enmities between the three different sects, so necessary to be discouraged.' This remark exposes another imprudent action on the part of the Government's representative at Gujarat. It is clear from above that the very purpose of instituting a fair trial of the crime-doers amongst the Jharejas was, indeed, fraught with dire consequences and to the same no body before Erskine cared to

pay any searching attention in the interest of the British Government itself.

(f) The last important defect that Erskine thought to be serious to note related to the fixation of a severe coercion of penalty on the perpetrators of female infanticide. According to him, this from of administration appeared in contemporary society 'to be inexpedient.' He pointed out that 'penal enactments, without the concurrence of the body of the people, never can be of essential benefit to the community. Until a wholesome public opinion is raised in the country, all punishments will appear either as an act of individual hostility or of gross public severity, and such being the case, they are worse than useless.'

Next, Erskine was found to have proceeded to observe on the *sumptuary system* in force at present in Kattywar (Gujarat). He dwelt at length on this system to sift out some obvious defects which were thought to bring some hindrances contrary to the very purpose of the system itself. Besides his sagacious observations on the coercive measures adopted by Willoughby, Erskine made a salutary effort to set Government's policy on a right tract by exposing its inherent weakness. The system was, according to him, 'ephemeral' and its 'partial nature' stood in the way of any real success. *Firstly*, rewards for preserving any number of daughters were, no doubt, 'well-bestowed', but those Jharejas who now had come forward to save their female infants were not guaranteed any further reward in future. Evidently, under the local societal pressure and rule of traditional sentiments this plan would cease gradually to be 'an engine of putting a stop,' especially when those who happened to have been rewarded already did not foresee any further reward for the same act of preservation. Such ephemeral plan of action could have only a *temporal success*, but for any radical achievement some other measures should have been within the purview of the Administrators.

Secondly, the role of Infanticide Fund in the Government's anti-infanticide campaign was, indeed, significant and benefit given from this fund to the needy Jharejas for the marriages of their daughters constituted, no doubt, a real aid but Erskine commented in this connection that in such benevolent deed 'the propriety seems more questionable.' In encouraging such financial assistance the Government indirectly 'encouraged a relaxed

system of moral duty by assisting a man in performing one of the most necessary and moral duties of mankind'. The Jhareja fathers were made *morally weak* to undertake marriage-responsibility of any of his daughters in their orthodox society. It is further known that out of generosity the Government arranged on principle to grant advance of money to a Jhareja for marrying his daughter to an amount 'more than 3 times' as great as was recognized to marry a Jhalla, Waghela, or Gohel, of the same condition in life, who, in the Rajpoot list, stood higher in rank than the former. Erskine argued that this arrangement 'is keeping alive one of the greatest causes of Infanticide', namely, 'presumptuous arrogance' of the Jharejas. The said arrangement was truly beneficial to the indigent Jharejas, but how long this could be continued by the Government? A very large fund would naturally be required to meet squarely the situation when to marry females on the present 'extravagant Jhareja terms' would annually become enormous.

Erskine stated: 'these sumptuary measures appear to me to lead to the perpetuation of the custom, by showing a sympathy with the perpetrators; as *why should we acknowledge the necessity for a Jhareja spending five to six times the amount on his daughter's marriage than any other Rajpoot does?*'

From a different angle the anti-infanticide policy of the Government was scrutinised to reveal its limitations. In 1829 Mr. Langford obtained demographic returns from Thakoor Baput Sing, of the families of his Bhyad of Dherol Talook and on the merit of such returns released by the Jharejas in question Langford himself was satisfied to deduce some favourable results showing clear decrease in the custom of infanticide. Accordingly, he was greatly enthused to present several of the Jharejas of that Bhyad with honorary dresses and other distinctions. Erskine raised a strong voice against such magnanimity on the ground that 'the correctness of these returns were extremely doubtful.' Prevalence of the criminal practice in Dherol Talooka at that time was clearly understood from the review of the census submitted by Erskine. 'This shows that the Chiefs had the power to deceive the British Government, as their own evidence was taken to their exculpation, and certainly confirmed them in the commission of the crime', wrote Erskine.

In 1829 when Jhareja *Jehajee*, Chief of Moorve, died

without making any investigations as to the state of population in his Talook, his son was decorated with presents and honorary distinctions by the British Government on account of his father having been the first to renounce Infanticide, by setting the example himself. But the Chief clung to his 'immemorial custom and right' to kill his female children. Erskine pointed out that after having succeeded in deceiving Col. Walker by preserving only one daughter, and signing the Engagement to relinquish the practice, he not only continued the commission of the crime himself subsequently, but permitted the same among his own relations and encouraged it in his whole Tolook. Such state of affairs could be deduced easily from the latest census-figures for males and females in Mooree district itself. It had been reported that Jehajee's son *Pritheerajee*, the present Chief, committed himself infanticide a few years ago. All these interesting disclosures were made by Erskine to strengthen the logic behind his observations and arguments on the current anti-infanticide measures-coercive and sumptuary-which were instituted vigorously by Mr. Willoughby and his assistants in Kathiawar in recent past.

Erskine informed that Captain Burnes had meanwhile made an excellent study on the subject of infanticide and his significant observations were published recently in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Great Britain. Burnes was also of the opinion that hitherto *the Government had been acting on a defective and erroneous plan*. Being enthused with Capt. Burnes' observations Erskine was found to have jumped upon a very crucial move which had a far-reaching impact on the future British administration of Kattywar (Gujarat) and other areas under Government of Bombay. He joined with Capt. Lang, Capt. Burnes, and Col. Shirref in studying the problem more deeply. His conference was successful and they could evolve *a new measure* to combat the odious crime of the Jharejas. They cooperated in a pioneer task to introduce for the first time '*national education*' in Kattywar for the Jharejas who might be thus enlightened with merits and demerits of their own infanticide custom. Such significant idea was never cultivated by any British officer before. Erskine was the exception to think and act upon such a radical measure against the practice. Proposal of '*national education*' was, indeed, revolutionary at those critical hours when

Willoughby's coercive actions were at their height to terrify and penalise the Jhareja community as a whole.

To translate his *noble idea of national education* into actions Erskine was found to have brought a *Pundit* from Bombay and with close cooperation and help of Col. Shirref instituted a *school* in the bazar. This act of benefaction was novel and highly satisfactory to the natives of Kathiawar. Another British official Capt. Jacob was a useful handle to Erskine in making his plan of national education a reality. To those European officers pen was mightier than the sword and accordingly, they attempted to pursue completely a new line of administration to effect a permanent solution of the age-old problem of female infanticide. They were convinced perhaps that coercive and sumptuary measures which were tried by their predecessors most expeditiously could never bring any lasting and peaceful improvement in the societal situation amidst which the Jharejas were habituated to indulge the barbarous practice in question. Until the people themselves would feel the notoriety of the custom nothing could be achieved substantially and radically. Persuasion, reasoning and above all education should be the basis of future British administrative policy towards the Jharejas.

In the context of his plan of 'national education' Erskine reiterated the immediate need of the knowledge about the early *social history* of the Jhareja tribe. He strongly desired that such knowledge should be possessed by every British official who might be entrusted to deal with the chronic problem of infanticide. Suppression of infanticide must have the priority, but *such custom was not to be treated as an isolated event in the traditional mode of living of the Jharejas*. Early history of the people, their original position, their relations with the other tribes with which they came in contact on their arrival in Kattywar and other relevant matters were the essential prerequisites which must be known thoroughly by the Government officials to cause a real administrative impact on the Jharejas and their social practices. Erskine emphasised on the above issues to impress upon the fact that without knowing thoroughly *sociological and historical backgrounds* of a native community the British Government could make any useful administration of any problem of that community. Col. Walker was conscious about *the exigence of these basic materials* and accordingly, his first task was to learn the *circumstances*—social, economic and

political—under which the Jharejas had to maintain their existence at Kattywar. He tried to understand how the cruel practice of female infanticide struck its firm roots in their society and why they took the custom as sacred and inviolable. He was able to collect a rich material on various aspects of the Jharejas and the same was useful in his estimation about the importance of the custom among the Jhareja group only of the Rajpoots of western India. He attempted to go to the root of the social problem engendered by various local and extraneous forces. Erskine was in agreement with Col. Walker *not* to treat the problem of infanticide as an isolated issue. Rather he intended to tackle the problem taking full cognizance of all social, economic and political developments that the Jharejas had meanwhile encountered in their immediate relations with other social groups of the area.

His plan of 'national education' appears to have been designed not only for the natives but also for his own colleagues and superior officers. The act of benefaction envisaged by Erskine and his cooperators was unique in the sense that both the Jharejas and the Government executives were provided with a radical programme against a social malady of the Jharejas. His plan of action stood in complete contrast to that of Willoughby in attempting universal education in the locality. He relied more on the cumulative effects of education on orthodox thinking and understanding of the people in question than on the quick results produced by any coercive measure.

Under the circumstances, Erskine thought wisely to draw and offer lessons from analytical thinking of the experts who had already dwelt upon the question in the wider perspective of social and political history of northern India. Col. Todd, the famous historian, was heavily consulted by him to expose the genesis of the custom amongst the Jharejas. According to Todd, Jharejas were originally Rajpoot descendants of the *Jadows*, but that by intermarriage with Mohammedans had lost their caste and therefore were despised by the other Rajpoots. The Kings of Sind, with the title of Jam, were all Mohamedans, avowedly the progenitors of the Jharejas. But, retransition from Islamism to the haughty aristocratic community of the Rajpoots remained obscure. It was stated further by Erskine that 'if the tradition is true, the Jhareja conquerers found much difficulty at first in persuading the Rajpoot princes of the peninsula to contract

matrimonial engagements with them'. Their great power and strength enabled them at last to overcome the caste feeling of the Rajpoots in obtaining their daughters in marriage. Todd remarked that by intermarriage with the Muslims the Jharejas as a division of the Jhadow Rajpoots lost their caste and Erskine added to this: 'political causes have disunited them from the Muslims, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajpoot but, having been contaminated (with Muslims), no Rajpoot will intermarry with them'.

Erskine continued to say that the fact of the Jam's family having saved only two daughters since their arrival in Kattywar (Gujarat) spoke volumes. The Raos of Kutch never preserved one *legitimate* daughter in their families till the present Chief did. As a matter of fact, Jam *Tumachee* saved a daughter sixty-six years ago, Raja *Ubhesingjee* of Jhodpur married that daughter with pomp. This was the solitary instance of a Jhareja prince being accepted in marriage by a Rajpoot King. A sister of an ancestor of the Jam, when the family was in Kutch, and before the Kattywar branch reached the peninsula, was married to the viceroy of Ahmedabad, a son of the Great Moghul Emperor of Delhi. Relevance of these social developments can be clearly understood from the historical facts (noted by Col. Walker) which have been appended below. An extremely fascinating history that was documented by Erskine in his voluminous report shows how the Jharejas were compelled under painful circumstances to embrace the idea of killing female infants immediately after delivery. Contextually, Erskine raised some pertinent points in stating 'whether the Jharejas were resolutely addicted to this crime (under motives of pride) when they arrived in Kutch from Sind, or even when they arrived in Kattywar from Kutch, or whether they were induced to the perpetration of it from not being able to obtain matches for their daughters among their new Rajpoot neighbours, it is indubitable they could have had no reason to continue the commission of it after they had by force of arms established their ascendancy in this province by their conquest of the Jetwa territory, and the constitution of their capital at Nowanugger. Had the Jhallas, Jetwas and the other true Rajpoot tribes been able to resist effectually the Jhareja arms, and refuse to give their daughters to a race of spurious descent, and moreover, who would not give their female offsprings in return, the mischievous results would

have been averted, but their physical power prevailed over the customs of the subdued tribes.'

But currently no obstacle existed to marry the daughters among the classes equal in all respects both of caste, consequence or substance and yet under the ominous spell of sentiment and vanity the Jharejas were commissioning an old practice of infanticide. Entire social and political situation in Kattywar had since appreciably changed but the Jharejas remained extraordinarily faithful and rigid to a custom initiated by their forefathers. In the face of such peculiar mental bend of the Jharejas Erskine suggested intelligently that 'if, therefore, the obstacles to the marriage of the females are removed, what can be the *operating cause* for the commission of the crime at the present day? The cause is ignorance, arising from want of education. The Jharejas kill their children because their attention never having been drawn to it, they have never even given the subject a thought.'

In this connection Erskine referred to a *memorandum*³ that recorded the nature of *intermarrying groups* amongst the Jharejas and other Rajpoots. Prescriptive marriages which were in force at that time in Kattywar were interestingly revealed in this document. On analysis the following intermarrying groups are obtained: (i) Chief Jam was required to give daughters in the family of the Chief of Drangdra. As head of the Jhalla tribe Drangdra family could only be brought into matrimonial relation by the Chief of Nowanuggur, who was also socially permitted to give daughters in the royal family of Oodeepoor, Jeypoor or Jodhpoor *only* in Rajputana. This much was the social ambit for the Jam respectability. On the otherhand, the Jam could receive daughter from Drangdra, Bhownuggur and Soda only and that too exclusively from the head family of each Talookdary, (ii) The *Drangdra Raja* was socially elligible to give his daughters to the Jam, and Rao of Kutch, Poorbunder, and Arreysir (a Bhyad of Kutch). He could take, on the other hand, from the head Jharejas, such as the Bhyad of the Jam, and Waghelas, Chowras, and Gohels; (iii) The *Raja of Bhownuggur* would give daughters only to the Jam and to the Chief family of the Jhallas and he would receive only from the Pirmars, petty Jhallas, Waghelas, and Jetwas. (iv) *Waghelas* had the pride and compulsion to receive daughters only from Jhallas, Pirmars and Rahtores and to give daughters only to

Jhallas, Jharejas, and Gohels; (v) *Pirmars* were permitted to give daughters to every sect of Rajpoots, but they received singularly from Jharejas, Gohels, and Jhallas. Besides these five most important intermarrying groups, the Jharejas and Sodas had the unique social practice to marry their *illegitimate daughters* to Musalmans. Communal marriages were encouraged perhaps to set free those illegitimate daughters from the cruel jaw of social ridicule and insecurity. Such development, was, no doubt, of immense importance in sociological study of Indian marriage customs with special reference to the Rajpoots.

Pointing to the above institutional characteristics of Jhareja marriage Erskine said that 'from this Government will be able to judge the change which it will be necessary to effect before Infanticide and its operating causes are discontinued' and concurrently drew Government's attention to the historical background of the social genesis of the custom of infanticide in terms of Col. Tod's masterly *analysis*⁴ of the problem. Interestingly it is learnt that *religion no where authorised this barbarous practice*, rather the societal laws which regulated marriages amongst the Rajpoots were powerfully responsible to promote Infanticide. Inter-clan (*Campa*) marriages and intra-tribe (*Gote*) marriages were prohibited and accordingly, every tribe had 'to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females.' Prolonged war, family feuds and other such impediments caused enormous difficulties to tribes situated remote from each other and eventually they were in trouble to uphold the prescribed social laws governing mating pattern. Infanticide of female infants provided excellently with an outlet for diminishing the very population of the females. Immediate amendments to such rigid social laws affecting marriages, marriage-dowers and other unreasonable expenses were urgently needed to remove the basic cause of the odious custom of infanticide. Erskine attempted to lay his entire emphasis on this particular *social issue* which was never within the focus of the current policy of the British Government.

After dwelling at length on the social history of the Jharejas and the limitations inherent in current policy of the British Government towards suppression of infanticide Erskine came out with some concrete suggestions to tackle more efficiently the problem in question. His suggestions may be summarised as

follows : (1) all the Rajpoot Chiefs in Kattywar must enter 'an engagement that they will not give their daughters to any tribe who will not give them their daughters in return.' Such engagement would effectively stamp out the pride and the determined wickedness of the Jharejas who should be censured not only by the Government but also by the community of Rajpoot as a whole. *Collective pressure* was to be brought to mend the psycho-social understanding of the Jharejas about the custom.

(2) The Jhareja Chiefs must enter into a 'stipulation that the expenses of the marriages of the daughters of their Bhyad shall not exceed the amount to be fixed at a general meeting of the caste.' Exigence of extravagant marriage-expenses had to be nulled to bring relief to the indigent Jharejas and to dwarf the extreme sense of family pride and superiority of the affluent Jharejas.

(3) 'A distinctly specified penalty ought to be proclaimed in case of infringement of their engagements after a certain time, to be fixed by the Government.' Penalty would be (a) loss of *Girass* and (b) degradation. Erskine remarked : 'I shall allude to a proposition made by several Jhareja Chiefs to the effect that *they would levied themselves*, under penalty of loss of their estates, to abolish the practice, on promise of amnesty for the past, and I feel sure that almost every, if not every Chief would willingly agree to this.' It was proposed that in any infringement of their own engagements they should be deprived of their hereditary property. Minor Jhareja Chiefs on infringing the engagement would forfeit the privilege to sit in the presence of the British Agent. Erskine made a bold statement that by his actions 'a revolution' had already taken place in the minds of the Jharejas and his proposals, if pursued correctly, were bound to accelerate the pace of the said revolution.

(4) The principle that the Jhareja Chiefs should remain supremely responsible for the conduct of their Bhyads and vassals must strictly be adhered to. The Chiefs must remain answerable to the Government for any further commission of infanticide in the Jhareja families belonging to second and other lower ranks. Erskine desired rightly to fix *the point of responsibility* for an efficient handling of the undesirable problem of 'child murder' in Kattywar.

(5) The counting-operating of all births and deaths in Jhareja society must continue and at the same time minute scru

tiny of the available demographic data must be carried out before commenting on the same. In such occasions all Jhareja Chiefs had to be enjoined to grant their honest and full support. Reliability of the census figures ought to be ensured in the very interest of the Government.

(6) General amnesty to the committers of crime might be granted to enlist the people, not only the Jharejas, but also other tribes, in Government's favour and Erskine opined that 'such a feeling will give weight and efficiency to the measures of coercion.' On the otherhand, 'whenever a change was preferred, or suspicion of a case of infanticide exists, inquiry should immediately follow'. It was submitted that 'period of two years or such other times as Government shall decide, shall be granted which time no investigation shall be made either with regard to former or late cases; and that the result of the census at the termination of that period shall be the test'. Meanwhile, 'kind treatment and persuasion' would have to be continued never losing sight of the exposition of the penalty in case of determined disobedience. Personal contacts and communications with the Jhareja Chiefs would be immensely helpful in ascertaining the fact of their adherence to the Engagement.

(7) Besides present censor *Moonshee Goolam Mahomed* another censor would have to be appointed on same salary to check collusion or error. In this context, the Jhareja districts would have to be divided between two censors and they would be asked to go to different districts every year which they visited last and thereby chances of mistakes would be greatly diminished.

(8) Assistance of the Rao of Kutch, the head of the Jhareja community would have to be encouraged by every means because such assistance happened to be 'the most essential desiderata towards the suppression of the crime'. Emphasis on this aspect Erskine brought precisely on the strength of a secret and private *letter*^s that was once addressed by His Highness the Rao to the Chief Jam to ventilate his strong objection against infanticide.

It is known further that a *general convocation* of the Chiefs of the Rajpoot race, sanctioned by Government, was scheduled at Bhooj where a plan for the desirable conduct of all classes as well as for reconciling all discordant customs and fixing the marital relations within the Rajpoot race in Kattywar on a secure and permanent basis was cherished to be drawn giving respect and

publicity to the stupendous task achieved before by the great *Rana Jeysing* of Amber. Erskine proposed to utilise the glorious precedent of one of the noblest of the Rajpoot race in educating the local Rajpoots and particularly the Jharejas.

(9) Education must be thought as the only means by which Government would be able with all their power at command to eradicate 'effectually and finally' the atrocious crime now under severe surveillance. Through education 'mental improvement and moral amelioration' of the mass of the people should have to be achieved to root out infanticide once for all. Erskine noted that 'the most ignorant individuals as well as nations have been the most vicious and degraded'.

Furthermore, Erskine referred to another interesting social issue which another British administrator Mr. Wilkinson happened to record earlier. The issue was precisely this that on the commission of the atrocious deed of infanticide the Jhareja concerned used to consider himself so polluted as to require the purification which had been observed by the Hindoos on the occasion of any offence being committed against his spiritual cum religious rules and that such purification was usually performed by a present of food, *Seede Surunjam*, to the Brahmin or Brahmins who were his family priests. This was formerly the custom in Kattywar but for purpose of concealment, Erskine argued, it was at present not resorted to. The committers of the crime now, therefore, did not possess even the show of conscience.

Erskine had the occasion to expose a lamentable situation in which out of 28 Jhareja Chiefs to whom Mr. Willoughby sent the Proclamation, only 8 or 9 were in a position to read the same. *The Chiefs of Rajkot and Gondul had even no knowledge of this document.* Only two copies were despatched to Chief Jam but he never read the same. The poorer Chiefs, Talookdars of some villages never had the Proclamation read to them. Deplorable ignorance was the reality. 'Unless Government deliberately resolves to extend the advantage of education over the community no hope can be entertained of finally and effectually eradicating this atrocious custom' declared, thus, Mr. James Erskine to reiterate his noble view on national education. Concurrently, he proposed to modify the Proclamation issued in September, 1834 at the instance of Mr. . P. Willoughby and a new Proclamation was drafted promptly.

Along with his lengthy report on the present administrative condition pertaining to anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar Erskine supplied a number of important documents to establish his sagacious views and comments on Government's policy of administration of the Jharejas in the peninsula. These documents supplement many useful and interesting information which had immediate bearing on the problem of infanticide and its dispensation. Six documents⁶ which have been appended below are : (i) extract from Erskine's letter to Mr. C. E. Trevelyan, Deputy Secretary to Government, Fort William, dated 31 August, 1835; (ii) the new Proclamation drafted by Erskine, (iii) an official circular to all Rajpoots of the area, (iv) a statement showing receipts on account of Mohsulle and Infanticide Fund by 30 April, 1837 (v) copy of Resolutions passed by several Rajas and Rajpoot Chiefs in Chapaheree meeting before Mr. Wilkinson on 26 January, 1836, and (vi) a letter from Political Agent at Rajkot to the censor Moonshe Ghoolam Mahomed dated 23 June, 1835.

(1) Erskine's letter of 31.8.1835 to Mr. Trevelyan deserves special mentioning in this context because it contains many significant observations of the writer who confessed that the suppression of infanticide appeared to him 'by far the most difficult subject' that the British Government had ever had to deal with in India. Even 'Suttees, or the imolation of children in the Ganges, were nothing when compared to it', was the opinion of Erskine who stated further that 'to check Infanticide we have to oppose not only sentiments which are strong enough to suppress the common feelings of human nature....but also to interfere in the most secret and sacred affairs among the higher classes of natives, of woman....' Erskine came to Kattywar in about 1825 and since then he was deeply associated with the problem and even then he had the strong feelings like the above. He experienced how the Government-appointed Mehtas 'were either cajoled by false returns, or expelled from towns and villages, not only by the classes charged with crime, but by the other inhabitants whom long habit had taught to view the business with indifference, if not absolute approbation.' He regretted to state that his strong and quick arrangement with all the Jharejas to receive 'quarerly statements of the births' proved ultimately an 'utter failure' within six months when most of the Jharejas declared their inability to act up to their agreement.

He further pointed out that several Jhareja fathers assured him that they dared not establish any scrutiny regarding their grown-up sons and the few censuses that were furnished were actually 'drawn up by guess-work from what may be termed the tittle-tattle of the villages'.

Erskine again offered a new idea when he suggested that the Jharejas being blood-related to the Rao of Kutch they might be requested to inform Rao as the head of the tribe, as well as Government, 'the fact of their wives being *enceinte* and eventually the result'. But his new idea was unfortunately received by the Jharejas 'with feelings of equal disgust and horror'. Fresh proposal 'to grant a portion to every Jhareja girl on her marriage' which was forwarded by his predecessor Mr. Gardiner had been 'explicitly negatived' even by the Honorable Court of Directors. In this context Erskine even thought to use 'direct authority and force' against the Jharejas in order to check incidences of female infanticides. But such action appeared to him at the same time unjustified, as it would be 'at variance with the spirit, if not the letter of the treaty'. Thus, he dropped the idea of *direct action* against the Jharejas.

Erskine's above communication contains many interesting facts which possess social and historical importance. It is learnt that in March 1830 Hon. Sir John Malcolm himself came at Bhooj to address the Jharejas on the 'enormity of the crime' and declared that 'the English nation would force the East India Company to dissolve all connection with a people' who persisted in the heinous practice of infanticide. On the spot the Jharejas denied individually the charge but they were painfully surprised to hear such threat at a moment when the British Government were courting the friendship of Sind, in which child-murder was carried to a much greater extent than even in Kutch. By that time it was a well known fact that all the *illegitimate* offsprings born to men of any rank in that country were wantonly put to death, *without reference to sex*. British duplicity was above-board and as such the force behind Sir Malcolm's warning got lost to mend the notorious practice of the Jharejas. It was only in July of 1834 when the young Rao came to wield authority the situation improved under his dynamic administration to mend the social habit in question. Erskine remarked : 'I do, however, think that our best, perhaps

only chance of success rests with Rao, who is most sincere in his detestation of the crime and his wish to stop it.' 'A complete notion' about the extent of Infanticide in Indian societies, according to Erskine as well as Wilkinson, was still to come within the reach of the British Government.

(ii) In the newly drafted Proclamation it was strongly declared by Erskine that the British Government would no longer keep silent to take 'resolute steps to abolish this iniquity' (favouring infanticide) and in this regard the Government should hold 'an assembly of the principal Rajpoot Chiefs for the purpose of reconciling any difference and of concerting a *sensible system of social intercourse* to be decided upon by the Chiefs themselves, taking into their serious consideration the interests of their respective tribes, and brotherhoods, assisted by the British Government's representative'. He made it clear that the Government must have no desire 'to introduce on the privacy of any Rajpoot family further than the interests of truth and of justice require'; for which reason the Government would have to discontinue the system of inquisition into private families, with 'the exception of the censors'. Penalty for commission of any further infanticide would, henceforth, mean entire loss of *Girass* and (iii) *degradation* in the eyes of the community. The Jharejas were again warned that for infanticide every Chief would surely forfeit his estate and he would not be allowed to appeal to the Government for his future misconduct. In the Proclamation it was emphasised that the context of the document must be read to every Chief and Talookdar in the presence of his whole Durbar, Bhyad and her to persons by all *Karbarees*.

(iii) The circular that was issued by Erskine was precisely an invitation to all Rajpoots of different rank to join the proposed assembly at Bhooj, which he himself arranged to open a discussion about the problem of the horrid custom of infanticide in deliberating upon a remedy and in framing by mutual understanding such rules for the Rajpoot community in Kattywar that would help the people in marrying their daughters without heavy expenses and other social and psychological hindrances.

(iv) A detailed statement was submitted by Erskine to show receipts on account of Mohsulles and Infanticide Fund during the period between 16 September, 1834 and 30 April, 1837. Fines levied on the Tributaries and Mohsullee collec-

tion from the Tributaries in *each month* from September to December, 1834 and in eleven months between 1835 and 1836 and three months of 1837 were recorded to present the total amount of collection of Rs. 1,15,525-6-2. Concurrently the amount of disbursements from the said Fund was also noted for the period between 31 July, 1835 and 30 April, 1837. A total of Rs. 6,594-14-10 went out of this Fund for meeting (a) several rewards that the Government declared in due appreciation of those Jharejas who preserved a number of daughters in their families or those Jharejas and other persons who helped Government in detecting cases of infanticide within the time-gap in question, or (b) the marriage-expenses of some Jhareja's daughters, or (c) amount involved in the remission from the tribute of the persons concerned. From this statement it is known that in as many as 28 cases the Jhareja fathers concerned were rewarded cash-gifts for their acts of preservation of female children, in 3 cases the persons concerned were rewarded for detecting concealed cases of infanticide, in only 4 cases financial assistance was granted to meet marriage-expenses of the daughters of the Jharejas involved, and in only 1 case some amount was granted to effect 25 percent remission from the tribute payable by the Talookdar (landlord) of Santoodurwouree. Thus, the balance in the credit of Infanticide Fund was shown to be Rs. 1,15,525-6-2 on the closing date of April, 1837.

(v) The relevant document reveals that on 25 January, 1836 several Rajpoot Rajas and Chiefs of superior ranks passed three resolutions before Mr. Wilkinson, the Political Agent at Bhopal, for carrying efficiently the orders issued to them, prohibiting female infanticide within their several territories. They resolved that any Rajpoot who 'shall destroy his daughter, shall be deprived of his patrimonial rights, and excommunicated, and these penalties doubtlessly will be enforced upon such an offender'. As many as *ten* Rajpoots of rank and power agreed to stand by the resolution which they adopted in the specially summoned assembly at Chapaheree at the instance of the Political Agent in question.

(vi) The last document announces the appointment of Moonshe Ghoolam Mahomed as the official censor by the British Government for Kattywar. *'The object of obtaining this census is to facilitate the complete suppression of the un-*

natural crime of female Infanticide, which has prevailed among the Jhareja tribe from time immemorial.' Ghoolam Mahomed was also supplied with the census form in which the figures for the Jhareja population was to be recorded. This form presents at once the intellectual bend of the then British officers who had already understood the unique importance of census as an essential administrative tool against infanticide. The official censor was also asked to be 'careful to respect' Jharejas' customs and 'not to offend their prejudices', and again, not to interfere with the privacy of married life and not to excite the jealousy within the people. He was further wished to give widest publicity of the Proclamation recently issued by the Government of Bombay against infanticide, more particularly among the inferior members of the community. He was empowered to detect 'the delinquents', and all suspicious cases should be brought to the notice of Erskine. Censor might make 'liberal rewards and promises of protection to informers' against the offenders concerned among the Jharejas. Government also expected from Ghoolam Mahomed all notices about the Jharejas who had preserved daughters but did not possess the means of defraying their marriage-expenses. The official censor was, thus, found to bear a number of vital responsibilities, satisfaction of which would very largely strengthen the future policy of Government towards the infanticide-practising Jharejas in particular and the Rajpoot inhabitants of Kattywar (Gujarat) in general.

Erskine noted in his lengthy communication that population of Kattywar was small and the Rajpoots of the lower orders were mostly *cultivators* by profession, or employed themselves in other occupations of productive labour, and again, the deficiency of women among so large a tribe as the Jharejas must have done much mischief to the prosperity of the country. He supplied with another piece of interesting news that in all Jhareja towns there happened to exist a large population of those degraded wretches, the *Powyas*, inmates of brothels due to curse of 'the most abominable wickedness'. Mandavee, Nowanugger, Gondul and Rajkot were the principal seats of these brothels. He pointed out that 'the present Jam has six wives, several concubines, besides his assuming to himself the privilege of cohabiting with any female whom his caprice points out; it can be supposed what a scene exist of female murder in his

palace and environs'. These facts are, indeed, potent enough to outline the existing societal conditions which the inferior Jharejas were facing in their daily life and living in Kattywar. Such socio-economic situation in the Jhareja society has to be kept constantly in mind to appraise the issue of female infanticide in its right perspective. The merits and demerits of the custom under reference can never be understood better without the knowledge of the past and current social history, existing economic anomalies and the peculiar psychological setting of the Jharejas who happened to maintain a strong sense of family pride, sentiment, and superiority amongst the Rajpoots of the contemporary times. Mr. James Erskine should be congratulated for the admirable job he had carried out in presenting the problem of Infanticide in its correct perspective. Anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar were placed on a new line by Erskine to yield the best results desired by the Government of Bombay.

REFERENCE-NOTES :

1. The Petition submitted by a deputation of Jhareja Chiefs in the event of Soorajee's case in 1836 :

"To J. P. Willoughby, Esq., Political Agent in Kattywar. Jharejas Dewajee, Jessajee, Murwanjee, of the Moorvee Bhyad; Jhareja Ladajee, of Rajpoora; Jharejas Samutsingjee, Wunajee, of the Gondul Bhyad; Jharejas Jessajee, Meroojee, Nyajee, of the Rajkot Bhyad; Jharejas Doongurjee, Dajeebhye, Bharajee, Hallajee, of the Dherol Bhyad; Jharejas Moolajee, Gopaljee, Ughabhye, of the Veerpoor Khureree Bhyad; Jharejas Khanjee, Puchanjee, Kesserjee, Adabhaee, of the Satodur Wowree Bhyad, petition as follows :— In Sumvut 1864, Major Walker effected arrangements for the preservation of the daughters of the Jhareja people, who therefore preserved them. *Afterwards, neither the European gentlemen nor principal Bhoomias kept a strict surveillance*, in consequence of which some ignorant persons may have violated those arrangements unknowingly. Cases against some of these have recently been investigated, and the accusation has probably been proved, for which reason the petty Talookdars and Zumindars petition that past offences may be pardoned. From henceforward Colonel Walker's arrangements shall be acted up to, viz., that from this time forward no one among the Jharejas shall put his daughter to death. Such an engagement we will write and make over. *Should the same be violated, and a daughter be killed, the person concerned is an offender against the Government, and we will not drink water taken from his house.* This writing we are ready, of our own free will and pleasure, to execute: therefore let the Saheb do the favour of acceding to the prayer of this petition, for the greater Talookdars will not petition for us. Sumvut 1892, Hallaree Ashad Shood 5th. In the handwriting of Jadowjee Madowjee".

2. WALKER'S report pertaining to the past history of the Jharejas informs the following significant developments :
 "From Colonel Walker's admirable report on the district of Hallar, the present seat of the Dominion of the Jharejas, we find that *the tribe were originally lords of Sind*. The cause of their emigration, or, it might have been expulsion, we are in ignorance of: from what we know of the power of the Mahomedan dynasty in those days, the supposition is plausible, that they were compelled by superior numbers to leave their original inheritance. They, however, arrived in Kutch, and, after assistance obtained from the Mahomedan King of Ahmedabad, one of their Chiefs succeeded in establishing his power in that country. Their persuasion and habits were at that time entirely Mahomedan. The inroad into Kattywar, about five hundred years ago, of the brother of the Kutch sovereign (the King having, in revenge for the murder of his father, discontinued the family title of Jam, one derived from the Emperor Jamshed, of whom the Jhareja family boasted to be descended, and under the Emperor's authority assumed that of Rao, still possessed by

the Kutch sovereign) ended in the conquest of the north-west district of the peninsula, then under the dominion of the Jetwa tribe of Rajpoots, by this powerful band. Upwards of 25,000 men are said to have reached Kattywar under *Jam Rawul*, who finally established his power in the port of Nagne (Nagbunder) the site of the present town of Nowanuggur. When this host arrived, they found in the country the Jetwa, Jhalla, Gohel, Purm, and Waghela Rajpoots. Their connection with their Musalman neighbours in the north having been by that time dissolved, they had no means of procuring wives from them, and they found themselves constrained to assume the casteship of the Rajpoots.

3. The memorandum in question elicits the following important sociological information on intermarrying groups of Kathiawar :

"The Jam professes to give his daughters to the Chief of the Drangdra family or his eldest son and heir, as head of the Jhalla tribe,—to no others in Kattywar; but he has never yet given one. In Rajpootana to Oodepoor, Jeypoor, and Jodhpoor only; but they will not take them. But only one daughter of *Jam Lakajee's* has been preserved for these ten generations, and she was given to *Ramsingjee* of Jodhpoor. The Jam will take from Drangdra, Bhownuggur, Soda; from the head family of each only. The Drangdra Raja will give his daughters to the Jam and Rao of Kutch, Poorbunder, and Arreysir (a Bhyad of Kutch). He will take from the head Jharejas, such as the Bhyad of the Jam, and Waghelas, Chowras, and Gohels. The Raja of Bhownuggur will give to the Jam and to the Chief family of the Jhallas. He will take from the Pirmars, petty Jhallas, Waghelas, and Jetwas; will give to Jharejas and Jhallas, and will take from petty Jhallas and Jharejas. Jharejas and Sodas will also give their *illegitimate daughters* to Musulmans. Instances have happened this. *Kessurbaee*, the daughter of Rao *Khengarjee*, by a concubine named *Jettee*, the real mother of the present Rao, has been married to the Nuwab of Joonagur, and the late Jemadar *Futteh Mahomed* of Kutch was married to the late Jhareja *Jyajee's* wife's sister. These two ladies were the daughters of *Soda Morgee*, of Nuggur Parkur. Waghelas will take from Jhallas, Pirmars, and Rahtores; and will give to Jhallas, Jharejas, and Gohels. Pirmars will give to every sect of Rajpoots, and will take from Jharejas, Gohels, and Jhallas".

4. Col. TOD'S observations on the custom of female infanticide of the Rajpoots :

"Colonel Tod sagaciously remarks that, "although religion nowhere authorises this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajpoots powerfully promote Infanticide. *Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (Campa), but between those of the same tribe (Gote);* and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be regrafted on the original stem. From instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand subdivisions of the Gehlotes, and the younger, the Seesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct States, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous. The Seesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race

as his sister. Every tribe has, therefore, to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own for suitors for the females. Foreign war, international feuds, or other calamities, affect tribes the most remote from each other, nor can war or famine thin the clans of Marwar without diminishing the female population of Amber. Thus both suffer in a two-fold degree. Many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed, by the great *Jeysing* of Amber, might with caution be pursued, and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajpoot State a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *Daeja*, or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate".

5. The private letter of the RAO to the JAM reads as follows :
 "You have asked my advice, through Mehta Toolseedas, about killing female children, to which the Sirkar is making objections. My reply is, as to what you have written, I believe that if it was not an improper thing the Sirkar would not notice it, and if it is an improper thing how can we agree to pursue it? My advice is this: when Colonel Walker arranged the affairs of this part of the country, I have understood that you entered into engagements pledging your *Knowl* (Solemn Word of Honour) to maintain them. That pledge continues to respect and you ought to adopt every measure accordingly, because the Sirkar is anxious that we do not violate the precepts of our Dhurm Shasters. Such is their wish, and we ought to entertain the same, and strive by all means to accomplish good."

6. Documents are as follows:

(i) *Extract from a letter of ERSKINE to C. E. TREVELYAN, Esq., Deputy Secretary to Government, Fort William; dated 31st August, 1835.*

The suppression of Infanticide appears to me by far the most difficult subject that we have ever had to deal with in India: Suttees, or the immolation of children in the Ganges, were nothing when compared to it. They simply required the fiat of the Government to put a stop to them in our own territories; but even to check Infanticide we have to oppose not only sentiments which are strong enough to suppress the common feelings of human nature, and, I may even say, of the most savage wild animals, but to interfere in the most secret and sacred affairs among the higher classes of natives, of women; for no one who has been a short time in India, and has used in powers of observation, can have helped perceiving how scrupulously every man pretending to respectability refrain from any allusion to his females, old or young.

When I first came to Kutch ten years ago, I set out with all the zeal of a newcomer to root out the practice, but I soon discovered my mistake. The Mehtas, sent at my request by the then Regency, were either cajoled by false returns, or expelled from towns and villages, not only by the classes charged with the crime, but by the other inhabitants

whom long habit had taught to view the business with indifference, if not absolute approbation. I next got the Durbar to summon all the Jharejas to Bhooj, and, partly by threat and partly by persuasion, arranged with them to furnish quarterly statements of the births within their respective estates. This plan I saw from the outset was defective, but it was the best I could hit upon at the moment. It proved, however, an utter failure; within six months most of the Jharejas declared their inability to set up to their agreement, ever as far as regarded their nearest relations.

Several fathers, for instance, assured me that *they dare not establish such scrutiny regarding their grown-up sons*, and the few censuses that were furnished I found to have been drawn up by guess-work from what may be termed the tittle-tattle of the village. My next idea was, that as all the Jharejas profess to be blood relations of the Rao of Kutch, they might be requested to announce to him as the head of the tribe, as well as government, the fact of their wives being *enceinte*, and eventually the result. This scheme appeared feasible to the ministers, but when we proposed it to the Jhareja members of the Regency, they received it with feelings of equal disgust and horror. Two modes further suggested themselves of carrying our object. The one to use direct authority and force; but that would, no doubt, be at variance with the spirit, if not the letter of the treaty. The other to grant a portion to every Jhareja girl on her marriage. This latter method had been proposed to the Bombay Government by my predecessor (Mr. Gardiner), had been explicitly negatived, and that negative had been confirmed by the Honourable Court of Directors; under these circumstances I was obliged to remain quiet. Sir John Malcolm came to Bhooj in March 1830. He made a speech to the assembled Jharejas on the enormity of the crime, and told them the English nation would force the East India Company to dissolve all connection with a people who persisted in it. The Jharejas, of course, individually denied the charge, but they afterwards inquired from me *how the Governor could talk so to them at a moment when we were courting the friendship of Sind, in which child-murder is carried to a much greater extent than even in Kutch*, for it is a well-known fact, that all the illegitimate offspring born to men of any rank in that country are indiscriminately put to death, without reference to sex. Subsequent to Sir John's visit, an impostor of the name of *Vijja Bhutt* went to Bombay, presented a petition to Government setting forth my supineness, and offering, if furnished with some Peons, to do all that was required. This petition was referred to me to report on, which I did as it merited, and matters lay in abeyance till the young Rao was installed in July 1834, when he adopted the most decided steps to enforce that article of the treaty which provides for the suppression of Infanticide. He took a paper from the whole of his brethren, reiterating that stipulation, and agreeing to abide the full consequences if they broke it. I officially promised the Rao our support in all his measures, and we have been watching ever since for an occasion to make a single example; but the difficulty of tracing and bringing home such an allegation will be understood from this letter, and it would be ruin to attempt to do so on uncertain grounds and fail. I do, however, think

that our best, perhaps only chance of success rests with the Rao, who is most sincere in his detestation of the crime and his wish to stop it.

I quite concur with Mr. Wilkinson that *Infanticide is carried to an extent of which we have hardly yet a complete notion in India*. The Rao told me very recently, that he had just found out that a tribe of Musalmans called "Summas," who came originally from Sind, and now inhabit the island in the Runn, paying all ill-defined obedience to Kutch, put all their daughters to death merely to save the expense and trouble of rearing them. He has taken a bond from all the heads of the tribe to abandon the horrid custom, but, as he justly remarked, he has hardly the means of enforcing it.

I had no intention, when I took up my pen, of saying so much, but have been insensibly drawn on to tell you all I know of Infanticide in Kutch; of its origin, I can only repeat the general tradition of its being a scheme hit on by one of the Jharejas to prevent their daughters, who cannot marry in their own tribe, from disgracing their families by prostitution. The Jharejas of Kutch have, perhaps, adopted all the vices, whilst they have few or none of the saving qualities of Musalmans. No people appear to have so thorough a contempt for women, and yet, strange to say, we often see the "dowagers" of households taking the lead in both public and private matters amongst them. Their tenets are, however, that women are innately vicious; and it must be confessed that they have good cause to draw this conclusion in Kutch, in which I strongly suspect there is hardly one chaste female. We can understand the men amongst the Jharejas getting reconciled to Infanticide, from hearing it spoken of from their very births as a necessary and laudable proceeding; but several instances have been told to me where young mothers, just before married from other tribes, and even brought from distant countries, have strenuously urged the destruction of their own infants, even in opposition to the father's disposition to spare them. This is a state of things for which I confess I cannot offer any explanation, and which would astonish us in a tigress or a she-wolf.

(A true extract)

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER.

(True copy)

(Signed) J. ERSKINE,
Political Agent.

(ii) ERSKINE'S New Draft of Proclamation :

A Proclamation.

1. Notwithstanding the great anxiety so often evinced on the part of the Sirkar, concerning the abolition of the wicked custom of killing female infants, which has so long existed in the province of the Jattywar, it still appears, from returns of the population of the Jharejas and others, that this crime is up to the present day committed.

2. Mr. Willoughby, the late Political Agent, took the greatest interest in this subject, yet the people appear to have neglected his benevolent advice and the orders of Government.

3. Setting both God and man at defiance, the Jharejas, and even some others, have preserved up to this time in this atrocity.

4. Every person possessed of reason knows that there is an Eternal and Almighty Power on high, to whom every mortal is responsible, and who will exact strict retribution from those who obstinately and wickedly transgress his laws, while he loves and protects all who obey his word.

5. To the good government of the affairs of this temporal world it is also requisite that in every community there should be paramount power. The rules and ordinances deliberately settled by such are binding on all who owe obedience to that power, and who are protected by its just laws.

6. The British Government here informs the perpetrators of this crime that it is no longer possible to set the laws of God and man at defiance, and that Government is determined to take resolute steps to abolish this iniquity and to attempt to bring the Jharejas and those who continue the commission of the crime to reason and to virtue.

7. The steps which the Government are resolved to pursue towards this and have been communicated to the Chiefs, and are now declared irrevocable.

8. This British Government, taking into consideration the habits and customs of the different castes, has determined on holding an assembly of the principal Rajpoot Chiefs for the purpose of reconciling any differences and of concerting a *sensible system of social intercourse* to be decided upon by the Chiefs themselves, taking into their serious consideration the interests of their respective tribes, and brotherhoods, assisted by the British Government's representative. At this meeting every argument can be discussed and all circumstances and all opinions listened to and decided upon, in a temperate and impartial manner, so that the interests of no party can possibly suffer.

9. The British Government has no desire to intrude on the privacy of any Rajpoot family further than the interests of truth and of justice require; for which reason the Government intends to discontinue the system of inquisition into private families, with the exception of the censors, and to give the Jhareja tribe, and others who are in the habit of perpetrating the crime of child-murder, a space of time, including two years from this time, to renounce this atrocious practice. A strict scrutiny of the state of the population shall be kept up, and at the end of that period, if it shall be evident that the custom has not been distinctly abandoned, the British Government intends to resort to the last extremity of condign punishment.

10. By the parental settlements of the illustrious Colonel Walker, by whose means the estates of all the Girassias were guaranteed to them, it was settled that every Chief should be responsible for the behaviour of his Bhyad. This rule can never be departed from.

11. Should the Jhareja and other Chiefs who allow this wickedness to be committed, still persevere after this serious remonstrance, they are hereby to know that the penalty affixed is entire loss of Girass and degradation in the eyes of the community. Every Chief shall forfeit his estate, and no Jhareja shall be allowed to approach the Sirkar, except at a distance, and with his shoes off, like a Dher.

12. These orders are irrevocable; but let every one know that those who respect the rules of Government shall be for ever upheld,

and every indulgence shall be shown to those who continue in a good and virtuous course.

13. The British Government observes with much satisfaction the conduct of the Drappa Bhyad, who have preserved as many daughters as sons. It is greatly to be hoped that this Bhyad has the honour of being the first to set the virtuous example of having renounced this horrid sin; but should any man, through folly or wickedness, have still committed the crime, let him be aware of the penalties he incurs, and let him pursue a course of virtue in obedience to the law of the Shasters and of the Sirkar.

14. This Proclamation is to be read to every Talookdar in the presence of his whole Durbar, Bhyad, and others present at the Hoozoor, and all Karbarees are strictly enjoined to have it read and explained to the Thakoors and others concerned, and Government will not overlook the neglect of Karbarees on such a subject.

Here will follow the renewed engagements entered into with the Iam in 1812.

(Signed) JAMES ERSKINE,
Political Agent.

Kattywar Political Agent's Office, Rajkot, 30th June, 1837.

(iii) CIRCULAR to be distributed to all Rajpoots of Kathiawar :

It was with the deepest concern the British Government first heard of female child-murder in this province. Conceiving it a duty to the Maker and Giver of all things to inquire into the truth of it, they have accordingly done so.

It is very painful for the British Government to learn how often the clear and express law of the Hindoo Shasters has been broken, and still more painful to know that those favoured by God with the government and care of his people should not only have forgotten to warn them against and punish them for every transgression of his law, but have, on the contrary, set themselves up in opposition to what they believe holy writings, the Shasters, and have persevered in the actual commission of the practice at which all reasonable men will shudder, as highly offensive to the Rewarder of good actions and the punisher of bad.

The Talookdars of this province have unfortunately not been in the habit of qualifying their children by education to read the Shasters and judge for themselves, so as to be in all cases able to discharge the heavy duties of guiding their families and subjects towards educating themselves agreeably to the will of the Supreme Ruler of the world, who has appointed them unceasingly to warn his people from sin by persuasion, and by punishment make them remember him and fear to offend him. During 6,000 years that God has been pleased to furnish the world with a history, many examples have occurred of his displeasure having been drawn down on man for the purpose of punishing him for the disregard of the law made to guide him. Many instances can be brought forward of power taken from princes who had misused it, for the purpose of deterring princes from misrule, and although the power of the Rajpoots may not have been diminished, they cannot assert that they have kept the word of God or studied to please him,

and laboured to stamp on the character of their subjects the virtue required by all to be a subject in his kingdom; on the contrary, the Sirkar cannot refrain from being alarmed at the denunciations from Heaven against a practice utterly repugnant to goodness and mercy, and all the kind affections bestowed by God on his people; and although the manifestation of his wrath has been delayed till this day, it cannot be expected so to continue unless they cease so great a violation of his divine law.

Impressed with the responsibility of the situation in which it has pleased God to place this Sirkar, it entreats the Jharejas not to rest satisfied with following the customs of their fathers, but to examine them, and convince themselves that they are in strict conformity to the law of God; for if not, they are most certainly displeasing to him, and sure to be followed by severe punishment. Let all Chiefs educate their children, and teach them to read their Shasters, and see what they ought to do to obey the law of God and to maintain their estates in their ancient prosperity.

There may have been some causes which led the Jharejas many hundred years ago to commit the horrid practice, but these can never exist now, and there can be no difficulty in any Jhareja, Jhalla, Jaitwa, Gohel, Wagella, or Pirmar Rajpoot procuring wives for his sons, and husbands for his daughters, of a condition of life similar to his own; some few trifling obstacles, however, stand in the way, and require removal. This can be done without interfering in any way with the rules of the Rajpoot community. The Political Agent begs you, therefore, to reflect most seriously on this important subject, and invites you to meet him at Rajkot (or wherever determined upon), for the purpose of proceeding to Bhooj (or Nurggur, whichever settled), where an assembly of all the Rajpoot Chiefs shall be held to consult and deliberate upon a remedy for this great sin of child-murder. Many Chiefs of this province are doubtless followers of good, but still their presence is also greatly desired, for the custom of giving daughters to those who will not give theirs in return, and of the Jharejas being obliged to spend so much greater a sum of money on the marriage of their daughters when they do preserve them, appears to be a inhumane may, after full discussion and deliberation, be enabled to move the assembly by virtuous feelings to make such rules among the Rajpoot community in Kattywar, so that the tribes may without difficulty exchange their daughters, and by wise arrangements remove all obstacles—a work which will be highly pleasing to God, and therefore highly gratifying to the British Government.

(Signed) JAMES ERSKINE.

Political Agent.

Kattywar Political Agent's Office, Rajkot, 30th June, 1837.

(v) *Resolutions passed by the several Rajas and Rajpoot Chiefs (when assembled at Chapaheree by Mr. Wilkinson, the Political Agent at Bhopaul) for better carrying into execution the orders issued by them, prohibiting Female Infanticide within their several Terri-*

tories; the object of these Resolutions being the removal of the causes which lead to Infanticide.

1. The chief cause which has led Rajpoots to destroy their daughters is that several families of Rajpoots will receive in marriage the daughters of Rajpoots of several others tribes, but they refuse to give them their own daughters in return. They thus are reduced to difficulty in getting what they deem a *suitable match* for their daughters. Under this fancied difficulty they destroyed their daughters on their birth. On this account it has now been resolved, that every Raja and Chief shall issue in his own limits an injunction, that no Rajpoot shall give his daughter in marriage to another who is not ready to give him his daughter in return; but to give his daughter in marriage in those families who will give him their daughters.

2. It has been already resolved that any Rajpoot who shall destroy his daughter, shall be deprived of his patrimonial rights, and excommunicated, and these penalties doubtlessly will be enforced upon such an offender; but he also, who after preserving his daughter shall take any money from his son-in-law shall be excommunicated; if he is poor and destitute of means, let his family and friends give him assistance to enable him to marry his daughter suitably to his name; if destitute of powerful friends, let the Raja and Chief in whose territory he resides give him assistance and provide for the marriage of his daughter.

3. *Bhats* and *Charuns* have claims from old against Rajpoots on the occasion of their marriage. We hereby fix a maximum of what is to be paid to them according to the rank and circumstances of Rajpoots, viz :—

	Rs.	1	0	0
By Rajas to each Bhat and Charun	...	0	8	0
By Thakoors of villages to ditto	...	0	4	0
By Rajpoots holding rent-free lands to ditto	...	0	2	0
By poor Rajpoots in service, as Sepoys, to ditto				

No more than the fees as above fixed are to be given by any Rajpoots on occasion of marriages. This is to be the custom : if any Rajpoot, from a desire to procure a good name, wish to give more, let him do so on any other day. Against his so doing there is no prohibition.

These three resolutions have been unanimously passed; let each Chief carry them into execution in his own estate. This is to be the rule.—26th January, 1836, corresponding with the 8th of Maha Shoodhee of 1893 Sumvut.

(Signed) RAWUL MOTEE SING, of Rajgur.
 DEWAN SHREE SING, of Khelcheepore.
 RAJA HUNWUNT SING, of Nursingur.
 BAREELALL RAJA BAHADOOR, of Muksoodungur.
 THAKOOR CHUTTER LALL, of Agra.
 THAKOOR SAVUNT SING.
 TUKEER SING, on part of SOORUJMULL
 THAKOOR, of Gagornee.
 THAKOOR TUKEER SING.

KOORNVUR SING INDRA SING.

MAHARAJA BULWUNT SING, of Sortulia.

(True copy)

(Signed) J. ERSKINE,

Political Agent.

(vi) A Letter From the POLITICAL AGENT AT RAJKOT
To MOONSHEE GHOLAM MAHOMED.

Rajkot, 23rd June, 1835.

1. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council having been pleased to direct a census to be taken of the Jhareja tribe of Rajpoots in Kattywar, I have, in consideration of the character you bear, and your general intelligence, selected you as the agent for carrying this order into effect.

2. *The object of obtaining this census is to facilitate the complete suppression of the unnatural crime of Female Infanticide*, which has prevailed among the Jhareja tribe from time immemorial, although its discontinuance was provided for by engagements entered into the Chiefs twenty-five years ago. There can, however, be no doubt that the barbarous practice still exists to a very considerable extent.

3. I rely both on your zeal, and the detestation with which you must view so inhuman a custom, to discharge the important duty confided to you with the utmost diligence and circumspection; you must be aware that having no claims for employment on account of previous service, you are nominated to the situation now bestowed upon you are the fittest instrument at my command for carrying into effect the instructions of Government; you will, however, distinctly understand that your appointment is merely provisional, and that its ultimate confirmation will entirely depend upon the manner in which you acquit yourself of the trust reposed in you.

4. I have directed all the Native records connected with the subject of Infanticide to be transferred to your custody. These include a census of the sons and daughters of the Jharejas taken in 1833, which you should study with care and attention.

5. Annexed is the form in which the census of the Jhareja population is to be taken, specifying -

- | | | |
|--|---|------------------------------|
| I. The District | } | to which the Census applies. |
| II. The Talooks | | |
| III. The Village | | |
| IV. The number of Jhareja families, 1, 2, 3, &c. | | |
| V. Male adults; the tribe sub-divided into three classes,—"Widowers," "Married," and "Unmarried." | | |
| VI. Sub-division of the tribe to which each belongs. | | |
| VII. Rank, profession, or occupation. | | |
| VIII. Male children; specifying their names, ages, recent casualties, and causes thereof. | | |
| IX. Female Jharejas, divided into four classes,—“Widows,” “Married,” “Betrothed,” and “Unbetrothed,” and specifying their names, ages, to whom married, recent casualties and from what causes these occurred. | | |
| X. A column for remarks. | | |

6. There are *twenty-eight Talookas* in Kattywar belonging to this tribe. The census for each is to be taken separately, commencing with the district of Rajkot. In all practicable cases every member of the tribe inserted in the register should be seen by you; but in some instances, either from the absence of the party or some other cause, this precaution may not be feasible: you will note down such instances they occur, and the cause of the parties not appearing. Independent of the districts more peculiarly belonging to the Jharejas, families of the tribe are scattered all over Kattywar; you will endeavour to trace out these families and embody them in a separate register, according to the general form, but with an additional column containing the names of the places from which they originally emigrated.

7. Although you will bear in mind that it is an object of importance that the census should be completed as early as practicable, you are to understand that *entire accuracy* in framing it is an object of still higher importance; you should, therefore, proceed slowly and carefully, in order to avoid the errors and omissions that would arise by performing the duty with too much expedition.

8. Enclosed is a letter to the Chief of Rajkot, apprising him of your appointment, and requesting his aid in obtaining the census. When the register of this district has been completed, you will bring it to me for inspection, after which you will be instructed to what district you are next to proceed.

9. In your communications with the Jharejas, *you will be careful to respect their customs and not to offend their prejudices; and will carefully avoid all unnecessary interference with them*, confining yourself to the simple duty of ascertaining with accuracy the required census. It is unnecessary to add, that the *privacy of married life is to be held sacred*, and every precaution taken not to excite the jealousy of the tribe. In the event of any opposition being offered to the measure under contemplation, you are to endeavour to overcome the same by persuasion alone, and if this fail, refer to me for instructions.

10. Enclosed is a *proclamation* recently issued by Government against Infanticide, to which, during your circuit, you will give every publicity, more particularly among the inferior members of the tribe, to some of whom it may not otherwise be communicated. In doing this you will impress on their attention the fixed resolve of the British Government to suppress the custom of Infanticide, and to punish with the utmost severity those who are still guilty of it, in violation, not only of the laws of God and man, but also of specific engagements voluntarily entered into by themselves for its renunciation.

11. I am sanguine that where the practice is still adhered to, you may, by your exertions, detect the delinquents; and in all cases where suspicion arises of the crime having been perpetrated, the utmost circumspection on your part will be required, and you will immediately apprise me direct of the same, without acquainting any other person of the suspicion existing. You are authorised to hold out, in general terms, liberal rewards and promises of protection to informers against those commit the crime, but beyond this you will adopt no measures whatever without first referring to the Agent for orders.

12. Should it come to your knowledge that any Jhareja who has preserved his daughters does not possess the means of defraying the expense of their marriage, you will communicate the same to me, without, however, in the first instance holding out to the party so situated the expectation of receiving pecuniary aid.

13. Your appointment will take effect from the 1st July; your salary has been fixed at Rs. 50 per mensem, with an addition of Rs. 10 batta when absent from Rajkot. A peon is to be attached to you, and stationery supplied from time to time from the Agency Stores.

CHAPTER 6

FOURTH PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS (Continued)

(b) MR. ERSKINE'S CONTENTIONS EXPLODED

Mr. James Erskine's independent views and bold actions were received well by the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, who took prompt measure to send the 'interesting reports' of Erskine to Mr. Willoughby for his expert comments. From the minute dated 30th April, 1838 it is learnt that Sir Grant registered his keen interest on Infanticide problem and accordingly, Mr. Willoughby was asked to shed more light on this problem. Prior to this development Erskine had the occasion to write by the end of September, 1837 to Mr. Willoughby at the latter's official camp near Nowanugger intimating his difference of opinion with Capt. Lang. Only three months ago Erskine prepared his famous document to appraise the aftermath of the anti-infanticide campaign in Kattywar and in such appraisal he was found to have received keen support from this very Lang and other British officers, particularly with regard to his plan of 'national education'. Under the circumstances, it may be assumed that Erskine's views and actions on Government's present policy towards suppression of infanticide could not fully convince his fellow-officers. Perhaps Erskine was excessively critical of Government's actions against the Jharejas to endanger the basic sanctity of the administrators. That this presumption is very largely true would be amply clear from Willoughby's expert observations which he had no difficulty to offer on the merit of his intimate and thorough knowledge about the complicated situation in the peninsula. On 8th September, 1838, Willoughby submitted a significant memorandum to the Governor of Bombay eliciting his masterly analysis of Erskine's expressions of disapproval of Government's actions against the Jharejas. The memorandum was equally voluminous and instructive to all who might then be interested in any way with the problems of infanticide. Willoughby as the Political Secretary to the Government had obvious advantages to explode intelligently Erskine's views and actions. The highlights of Willoughby's

memorandum are summarised below to enlist many useful informations.

(1) Willoughby took up first the cases of convictions and stated that out of total 13 cases recorded in 1835-36 in 4 cases the offenders were convicted right in 1835 for commissioning child-murder, but in 1836 although 'in several cases strong presumptions of guilt existed, there was not a single instance of conviction' and moreover, some defect or mismanagement in conducting the investigation itself undermined the very purpose of enquiry. Before the accused party was placed publicly on his trial *preliminary enquiry in private* in the first instance was the standing instruction of Willoughby but the same was not respected in 1836. Willoughby remarked in this connection: 'I am of opinion that the fact four out of 5 cases detected in 1835 having been most fully and completely established is to be attributed to the mode of procedure objected by Erskine'. He emphasised that the Political Agent should consider it his duty to investigate every charge of infanticide which might come to his knowledge, without reference to the quarter from which the investigation might start. Enquiries should obviously be *in private* at the beginning and 'in every case, however, whether of abandoning or preserving in the enquiry, a *full report* of the proceedings should be submitted to the Government'. Government's strict policy towards the procedure to be adopted in convicting an accused party was clearly pointed out and Erskine's administrative lapses in this regard were especially noted by Willoughby. Erskine was charged with such strictures that did never help to add prestige to the career of an European officer of rank. But for a domestic custom of the Jharejas Erskine had to encounter a debatable position which was at least not encouraging for him in his further dealings with the people addicted to infanticide. It is clear that an undesirable controversy between the Political Agent at Rajkot and the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay could at this critical stage never be conducive to the expressed views of East India Company on the need of immediate abolition of the odious practice from Kattywar and its neighbouring territories. Willoughby justified his administrative stand very strongly only to counter Erskine's arguments.

(2) Secondly, Willoughby was of the opinion that the accuracy of the general demographic results obtained in his census of 1834 had actually been confirmed by Erskine's census of 1836. Whatever variations that one might see should be attributed to

the question of emigration of the Jharejas from one Talook to another. Erskine examined Jhareja population existing at the time of Willoughby's proclamation (end of 1834) through the middle of 1836 and from Erskine's very account Willoughby could learn the following proportion of males and females, of and under the age of 20, in each Talook, except Nowanugger :

Talooks	Males	Females	Talooks	Males	Females
1. Rajkot	22	6	15. Wuddallee	9	1
2. Shapoor	12	0	16. Gutka	5	2
3. Mhowa	3	1	17. Paal	8	2
4. Kotra			18. Veerwa	2	0
Sanganee	14	5	19. Bhadwa	6	2
5. Dherol	208	88	20. Kotareea	4	1
6. Satodur			21. Kotra Nyajee	31	5
Wawree	79	27	22. Seesang		
7. Drappa	95	20	Chandlee	51	15
8. Rajpoora	38	3	23. Mallia	32	15
9. Jhallia	26	9	24. Khureesra	33	16
10. Mooleeladeree	38	13	25. Kaksealee	5	2
11. Gondul	325	97	26. Moorvee	279	51
12. Gowreedhur	9	1	27. Veerpoor		
13. Lodeeka	16	2	Khureree	59	18
14. Mengnee	13	7	28. All Talooks:	1422	409

Willoughby observed that the above demographic results were 'exceedingly satisfactory'. Out of total 409 females 73 (18%) female infants were of the age 1 year and under. It was regretted that Erskine's report did not include all females of and under the age of 18 months to reveal the real effect of the Proclamation instituted in Willoughby's time.

(3) The Chief of Rajkot was penalised by Willoughby to pay Rs. 12,000 (not a fourth of his annual income) and in the second instance the accused Jhareja was sentenced for imprisonment for only one year and fined Rs. 300 and again, in the third case the offender was imposed a fine of Rs. 100 only. These punitive actions were not liked by Erskine as he was against excessive coercive measures of Willoughby. But to accuse Willoughby

for these actions meant direct accusation of the Government itself, since these sentences were duly approved even by the Honourable Court of Directors. Erskine's views were thus highly objected to expose his insubordinate attitude to the decisions of the supreme most authority of the British Government. Similarly, he was censured for his anti-view on the system of making use of informers in the detection of infanticide cases. Willoughby even took a strong exception to Erskine's remark that his (Willoughby) investigations 'must have alienated the people from Government'. A sharp conflict between two very important Government officials was evident from the above facts and the same was bound to affect ultimately smooth running of any administration of the Jharejas in Kattywar. It appears clearly that the very anti-infanticide policy of the Government of Bombay was then at cross-roads.

(4) Willoughby next dwelt upon the question of Infanticide Fund which was expressly created by Mr. Elphinstone's Government for the specific object of contributing money towards Jharejas' daughters' marriages. The present amount of its accumulated funds (Rs. 1,08,830) was not likely to become soon exhausted and thus, Erskine's apprehension was not tenable. Willoughby remarked that Mr. Erskine condemned almost every measure which had heretofore been adopted to win the Jharejas into acquiescence with the humane views of the British Government. As a matter of fact, Mr. Erskine 'condemns almost every measure that has been adopted for the suppression of Infanticide, either as being unjust or inapplicable; his condemnation alike applying to those of a penal as well as to those of a conciliatory character; and he does notwithstanding the large measure of success with which our arrangements have been attended'—this was the essence of observations of Willoughby to challenge the propriety of Erskine's views.

(5) Proposals made by Erskine were also duly commented upon by Willoughby. He found no objection to his *first* proposal demanding fresh engagement by all the Rajpoot Chiefs and Rajas. But Willoughby doubted the sanguinity of this proposal. *Second* proposal was accepted but Willoughby noted that he was not aware that his Government had ever contributed to the marriage expenses of any other caste but the Jhareja. *Third* proposal for imposing specific penalties, to be fixed by the Government after a certain time met with no opposition but it was desired that each case was to be dealt with, as at present, accord-

ing to its merits. *Fourth* proposal demanding the Chiefs to be exclusively responsible for the conduct of their Bhyad and vassals appeared to be 'no new suggestion' to Willoughby. *Fifth* proposal for carrying out annual census to have the test of anti-infanticide policy in closest cooperation with the Chiefs themselves had already Government's blessing since 1835 and accordingly, question of rejection of the proposal could never arise. Willoughby expressed astonishment to Erskine's *sixth* proposal that 'a period of 2 years or such other time' be granted to the Jharejas during which *no investigation* of any infanticide case would be made. He did not like to extend any consideration to this immature proposal. Erskine's *seventh* proposition to obtain necessary and speedy aid from the Rao of Kutch was heartily welcomed by Willoughby for the very interest of the solution of the problem. He also welcomed the suggestion of the general convocation of the Rajpoot Chiefs at Bhooj to plan a *code of conduct* in achieving social-demographic equilibrium in their society. In this respect Willoughby suggested to hold two such convocations—one at Rajkot and another at Bhooj, 'each communicating with and acting in concert, as far as practicable, with one another'. Erskine's *eighth* and last proposal for augmenting education, mental improvement and moral amelioration of the people was happily noted.

(6) Willoughby suggested necessary modifications in the drafts of Erskine's proclamation and circular letter to be dispatched to the Chiefs. He was particularly not satisfied with the content of the circular letter and according to him, substance of the last para of the original draft of this circular letter would be sufficient to earn the result desired by Erskine. In this context he was more anxious to receive Erskine's annual report on Infanticide for 1837.

Willoughby proceeded next to clarify his administrative stand on anti-infanticide movements which were activated particularly under his command. He was afraid that he might be misunderstood for the measures he adopted. To defend his line of actions Willoughby was quick enough to release a bunch of correspondences which very interestingly brought many hitherto unknown facts in public. These communications were exchanged with many Chiefs and other influential persons in Kattywar precisely on the subject of his Proclamation and census of the Jhareja population. A perusal of the correspondences shows that the following persons of rank were addressed by Willoughby

to explain Government's views on infanticide : (a) *Jam of Nowanuggur*¹, *Thakoor* (Chief) of *Moorvee*², *Chiefs of Gondul and Dherol*³, *Chief of Rajkot*⁴; (b) Moreover, a *circular letter*⁵ was issued to the Chiefs of Drappa, Veerpoor, Mooleedaree and other twelve Talooks of Kattywar; (c) Similarly, Chiefs of Paal, Kotaree and other three Talooks were given separate circular letters; and (d) *Chiefs of Drangdra*⁶ and other Rajpoot Chiefs who used to give their daughters in marriage to the Jhareja tribe were contacted by Willoughby in this situation, (e) He also communicated with *Babajee Buchajee*⁷, Minister of Gondul in this connection. It is further gathered from the memorandum that *Nuthoo*, Mehta of Limree, *Motee*, of Nowanuggur, *Runchorjee*, Dewan of Joonaghur, *Beba Wuseekur* of Dherol, Mehta *Wasunjee* of Gondul, Mehta *Nuthooram* of Poorbunder, the manager of Amrellee, along with all *Mehtas*⁸ on attachment duty, were duly posted with his Proclamation and they were asked to extend their cooperation in extirpating Infanticide. On the same occasion Willoughby did not forget to write to 80 Chiefs of minor rank and influence who were connected by marriage with the Jhareja tribe, intimating his Proclamation and soliciting their every help in enforcing the same.

These letters bear the laudable testimony to Willoughby's remarkable work of public relation to win confidence of the people whom he was going to administer. His farsightedness and judicious thinking stand no match to Erskine's. His plan of action confirmed that he was fully conscious of the consequences that might result from the strict imposition of the clauses of Proclamation in Kattywar. No sudden action was certainly encouraged by him, rather he was extremely careful and calculated in launching his anti-infanticide measures in Kattywar. It appears that Erskine was not aware at all of such administrative approach of Willoughby and accordingly, he made a serious mistake in underestimating Willoughby's intellect and judicious capability. It was unfortunate that Erskine criticised his superior officer on the strength of insufficient information.

In this context special mentioning be made to the letter of Willoughby which was sent to *Jam Runmuljee*, Chief of Nowanuggur, on 21 July, 1835. This was a significant letter, content of which was repeated with certain omissions to other important Jhareja Chiefs mentioned above. The letter in toto has been appended below under reference no. 1. From this letter it is learnt that (i) 380 infants were already preserved in Jam's

Talook, (ii) His Highness the Rao of Kutch had meanwhile pledged himself to extripate the custom of infanticide, (iii) Government had resolved to obtain a census of the Jhareja population of Kattywar and thereby to receive returns of all births, marriages, betrothals, and deaths, and (iv) Infanticide Fund had already been instituted to extend relief to indigent Jharejas in marrying their daughters.

In his letter to Jhareja *Pretheerajee*, the Chief of Moorve, Willoughby happened to remark that 'whilst there are sixty-seven males, *only seven females* have been preserved. No further proof is required to establish the melancholy fact, that the barbarous custom of Female Infanticide still prevails in your districts to a considerable extent, because the inquiries of the learned have proved that in all countries the number of persons born of both sexes is nearly equal. . . . It is mortifying to reflect that the laudable example of your father has produced so little impression upon the Bhyad and other Jharejas residing in the Moorve Talook'. Chief of Moorve was very strongly warned for prevalence of the crime in his territory and if such undesirable habit continued unabating, it was pointed out that he had to forfeit all claim to 'a continuance of the favour and protection of Government' and he would be justly exposed to 'reproach and disgrace'.

Similarly, the following extract from Willoughby's letter to the Chiefs of Drappa may be added here to learn his administrative stand: 'I hereby inform you that if it is proved by future returns that the unnatural custom is still adhered to, you will render yourself liable to the severest penalties; and if you neglect to attend to this friendly warning, you will run a great risk of losing your Talookas and the privileges you now enjoy'. Such 'friendly warning' was also served on the Jhareja Chiefs of the Talooks of Paal, Kotareea, Kotra Sanganee, and Mowa.

On the other hand, Willoughby's letter to Jhareja *Doongurjee*, the Chief of Khureesra shows how the Chief was congratulated for his satisfactory actions against infanticide. It had been written: 'your praiseworthy conduct having been brought to the notice of Government, I have been authorised to grant you a remission of *ten annas* from the tribute payable from Kesurrah for Sumvut 1890 [1834 A. D.] and an honorary present in the name of Government in token of its high approbation of your exemplary conduct'. Such remission was also granted to the Chiefs of Mengnee and Satodar Wawree Talooks in high ap-

preciation of the good conduct shown by the Jharejas of the area in preserving a good number of female infants.

From Willoughby's letter to the Raja of Drangdra and other Chiefs who used to give their daughters in marriages to the Jharejas the following extract may be perused with immediate interest : 'Further measures have therefore become necessary to effect the complete abolition of the custom; and the object of my writing to you is to suggest that it be made a stipulation in all marriage contracts entered into between Rajpoots of the Jhalla tribe and the Jharejas, that the practice shall be discontinued'. This move of Willoughby was surely a crucial one to affect in the long run the peculiar psycho-social make-up of the Jharejas who were notoriously proud of their social status, family pride and orthodox belief in some legendary episodes and customs related to female infanticide. Willoughby took necessary diplomatic actions in making other Rajpoots conscious of the irreligious and baneful custom like infanticide. It appears that he desired to mould before long the very basis of social relations between the Jharejas and other Rajpoots in the sphere of matrimonial engagements by exerting necessary official strictures and granting due privileges. His farsightedness had no parallel in any other British officer except Col. Walker.

Willoughby continued his observations by stating that difference of opinion between Capt. Lang and Mr. Erskine constituted no serious matter. Rather Lang's proposal was supplementary to Erskine. Lang's proposal viewed that in order to guard against the possibility of the commission of the crime of infanticide and *the death of the child being afterwards attributed to premature birth*, and again, to obviate the difficulty of proving in such cases the crime, that, in all instances of premature births which might hereafter occur, whether the child was either still-born, or died in consequence, the corpse, whether male or female, should be shown to the *Gamete* or Patel of the village, *a certified paper* setting forth the circumstances of the case, be required from them, but that where there happened to be a Government Mehta on the spot, the report should be made to him. This arrangement might sound well but Willoughby did not encourage the same not because Lang's over-enthusiatic decision was 'improper or unjust' but because of his hope that without this complicated measure the objective of anti-infanticide measures of Government could be achieved.

Along with his memorandum Willoughby enclosed the re-

plies that he received from different Jhareja Chiefs in response to his *personal communications* with them. Contents of these replies were, indeed, interesting to learn about the firsthand reactions of the Jharejas of rank to Willoughby's propositions and request for stopping the practice of infanticide. Jam of Nowanugger assured all possible steps to stop infanticide within the area under his jurisdiction through his letter of 23 August, 1835. Chief of Moorve Talook and his son *Koorshee Ruwajee* expressed their genuine willingness to take effective measures in stopping the crime 'as soon as Jhareja *Dewajee* has done so'. They seemed to have cleverly taken a shelter behind Dewajee only to avoid direct involvement in a social behaviour which was yet to be accepted as honourable in the feudal society of the Jharejas. Their response came on 16 September, 1835. The Chief of Gondul Talook informed on 10 August, 1835 that he conveyed the contents of Willoughby's letter to his Jhareja subjects and the Bhyads. He went a step further in exacting security from them to make a positive check of the cruel practice. Due warning was extended to the effect that if any of them should disregard the present engagement he would be expelled from the caste. He also promised to submit half-yearly returns in time.

Another interesting letter was that of *Soorajee*, famous Chief of Rajkot Talook. He agreed to pay the fine of Rs. 12,000 and communicated that 'in regard to the security demanded from me that I shall hereafter abstain from the practice of Infanticide; I beg to state that I abjure the custom for ever; and if ever I am found guilty of the crime, my possessions will be at your disposal'. About *Soorajee* many interesting facts have already been discussed in previous chapters and this letter is mentioned here only to point out clear downfall of *Soorajee's* social honour and standing in British circle. Willoughby received this document in August, 1835. Jhareja *Bhomeeneejee*, Chief of Kotra Sanganee Talook delivered a good news to Willoughby on 31 July, 1835 to inform that three daughters had lately been born in his family and they had been preserved. Jhareja *Myramjee* and two other shareholders of *Mooleeladeeree* Talook promised on 7 August 1835 that 'whoever commits the sin of infanticide will be punished. We will attend to the orders of Government. We have explained the contents of the proclamation to all our Bhyad (brethren) and will all attend to it.' Jhareja Chiefs of *Drappa* Talook wrote that 'we will not put our daughters to death. Should any of our Bhyad commit the crime we agree

to his being considered as offender against Government'. Their reply dated 12 June, 1835. Jhareja *Dasojee*, Chief of Paal Talook informed, 'I have assembled my Bhyad and formed engagements that they should not put their daughters to death. I am under the same obligation to preserve my daughters. Five months since my brother Jhareja *Hurreebhye*, got a daughter, which he preserved'. His letter originated on 11 October, 1835. Another letter of importance came from *Baba Wusseikur*, Farmer of the Dheral Talook on 29 August, 1835. This gentleman declared, 'I have published the proclamation amongst the *Girassias* and others residing in the villages included in my farm. With Col. Walker originated the adoption of the measures for the abolition of Infanticide, but it is you who have vigorously carried those measures into execution upon a systematic plan. The ears of the community are at last opened, and they begin to see with their eyes'.

These evidences show how genuinely the Jharejas of both superior and inferior ranks intended to put an end of a social evil which dominated for centuries in their society. Willoughby was flooded with promises, assurances and appreciations for his administrative stand against infanticide. Such a high order of positive response against continuation of the custom from the Jharejas was, no doubt, an unique development for which the Government of Bombay and Willoughby had every reason to feel content. But, how far such encouraging responses of the Jharejas were depicting their real mind could only be tested in the posterity. As a matter of fact, the succeeding demographic censuses turned out to be the positive tests to confirm the hollowness in their promises. Sex-ratio did not improve appreciably in the successive years to justify good conduct on the part of the people concerned. Rosy but carfty promises were intentionally extended to the Government, because infanticide continued to take life of very young Jhareja daughters.

Willoughby released another very important letter of Mehta *Nuthrooram Munguljee* of Porebunder, dated 20 September, 1835. Nuthooram wrote that he had conversed with the Rana on the subject of Proclamation against female infanticide. There were only four *Dehlees* (divisions) with small population of the *Jaitwa* (Jetwa) tribe. Orders were already issued to all of them to abstain from Female Infanticide. He wrote, 'The Jaitwa tribe, however, was not included in Col. Walker's arrangements for the suppression of Infanticide because this [Porebunder] is a

Dhurumraj, or place where religion is much respected and the 'custom does not prevail.' Four divisions contained only 10 houses.

Runchorjee, Dewan of Joonugger sent a *communication*⁹ to Willoughby on 12 July, 1835 and in his letter he dwelt at length on the causes of infanticide and assured his co-operation with Government's attempt for abolition of the custom. The historical-social causes for female infanticide were recorded in the following order : '(1) Up to reign of Pritheeraj Chole the bride was the property of the strongest . . . The contentions which ensued in consequence were of the bloodiest description, (2) the *Summa* tribe of Rajpoots gave a daughter in marriage amongst the *Soomra* tribe of Rajpoots. Some frictions originating in this matrimonial connection led to lasting rupture between the two tribes, (3) The daughter of the Raja of Tutta was carried away by the Kuleefa of Bagdad and (4) The Mussulmans during their reign forcibly possessed themselves of the daughters of the Rajpoots, and great hatred and opposition between the castes ensued in consequence'. According to Dewan these causes no longer existed to promote infanticide and yet continuance of the crime was unaccountable.

Jhalla *Deepsingjee*, Chief of Kerallee replied to Willoughby on 25 August, 1835 to intimate, 'as you have written, writings will be taken from the Jharejas, and in future we shall not give them our daughters without first obtaining a writing from them, though you should or should not write to us again on the subject'. Jhalla *Shesmaljee*, Proprietor of Bholora, Wudwan Talook gave also an encouraging reply on 26 August, 1835 to note, 'In obedience to your wishes, the daughters of Jharejas will be preserved, and a writing to this effect taken from them before we marry our daughters to them'. Again, *Rawal Jetejee* *Motheejee*, Shareholder of the village of Ruttonpoor Damun responded favourably on 23 August, 1835 to write, 'in this country the Jhareja people do not preserve their daughters . . . My people abuse the custom of the Jharejas . . . Before we give our daughters in marriage to the Jharejas, we shall, as directed, take the requisite writings from them to abstain from female infanticide'. These writings were significantly important to indicate a *beginning of a new social outlook* among those Rajpoots who were matrimonially connected for long with the Jharejas. The Jharejas were threatened to be exposed under a strong sanction and pressure. Their very societal existence appeared to

be at stake in the hands of the Jhallas and other Rajpoot groups from whom they used to receive daughters in forming family units. By chance, if the Jhallas insisted on Jharejas' solemn declaration against infanticide at the time of any marriage contract the latter would surely have to face a dire consequence. But posterity had shown that the Jharejas did not have to worry much for such rigid attitude of the Jhallas, daughters of whom continued to enter, as before, into Jharejas' families and withstood the dreadful tradition of child-killing in their husbands' families. Truly speaking, the Jharejas had never encountered any serious trying situation to receive brides from other Rajpoot families which were socially eligible to offer matrimonial alliance with the respectable and wealthy Jharejas of Kathiawar.

It may be mentioned here that altogether thirty-eight letters were received by Willoughby in response to his communication and Proclamation. Some of these letters are recorded above only to show the trend of reactions of the people in complying with Government Agent's intention and orders. Jharejas and other Rajpoots responded well to stand by Government, but their subsequent actions were never in consonance with earlier promises and resolutions. Erskine's census of births and deaths of Jhareja children was an eye-opener to a tragic situation where the Jharejas proved themselves as deceitful people. Willoughby was enormously successful to impose his strong personality as well as administration, but he was no doubt, misled by crafty disposition of the local people. The Jharejas and their related Rajpoots of the area seemed to manage an unholy alliance against their foreign Rulers in defending an age-old social practice. Their principal object was precisely not to go defaulter in attending quickly Government's desires. Eventually, Willoughby was over-burdened with promises, assurances and positive declarations against female infanticide. That these were truly *temporary in nature* was never doubted by Willoughby who, on the other hand, on good faith depended too much on the opinions of the Jharejas of superior rank and other notable Rajpoots. But these Rajpoots had obviously greater love and respect for their own social customs. As tributary-feudals of Kattywar the Jharejas and other Rajpoots were never in a position to endanger their relations with the British Government in India and accordingly, it was no wonder that they would take such extraordinary enthusiasm to earn pleasure and blessing of Government's Agent by voicing their unwillingness to continue

the practice. Whatever might be in their mind, they were successful for the time being to pacify Government's awful administration and interventions. Native diplomacy prevailed remarkably on British policy. It appears that Willoughby was successfully enticed by the Jharejas in collusion with their related Rajpoots of the area under reference.

Although Willoughby was highly congratulated by his superior officers in the Government for his remarkable successes in Kattywar, yet Erskine's scathing observations on the melancholy fact of infanticide which was still then going on with no less intensity than before shook the complacent attention of the Government. Willoughby was over-estimated for his actions and the reality was that the native Rajpoots applied a more superior strategy to make double achievements at a time. Through their letters of promises and declarations they avoided at one hand worth of Government and on the other endeavoured to retain the sanctity of their social customs and familial usages by diverting sure chances of Government's immediate interceptions in their private matters through dubious promises. Jharejas' overt actions were, indeed, quite encouraging but their covert behaviour remained equally disquieting. Female infants continued to be the unfortunate victims of the practice of infanticide. It is quite interesting that the Jharejas were uncommonly faithful to both Government's injunctions and society's institutional pronouncements. They acted desperately to strike a delicate balance between British Government's strictures and their own society's traditional laws. The Jharejas were in a fix, neither they were willing to do away with their traditional custom nor they were ready to brook disgrace in any form for the very custom in the hands of the British Rulers.

Willoughby delivered his expert opinions on Erskine's bold observations in defence of the course of actions—coercive and sumptuary—which was directed absolutely against a morally loathsome practice, namely, female infanticide and in doing so he packed his memorandum with numerous documents of letters and instructions. He maintained that Erskine was unnecessarily critical of his anti-infanticide measures, but very strikingly Willoughby was silent to comment anything on Erskine's novel plan of 'national education' which was designed basically to induce radical cure of the misconduct of the arrogant Jharejas. As Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay Willoughby had obviously more authority to belittle Erskine's stand on

Government's policy towards the Jharejas but Erskine's observations were certainly not wholly insincere, illogical and factless. The very fact that the Jharejas had not yet abandoned their ill-practice inspite of their expressed promises and declarations in writings before Willoughby was clearly highlighted by Erskine to disprove Government's claim for any 'large measure of success'. In his task Erskine laboured hard and intelligently to raise meaningful expositions of only those Government's actions which were in excess to yield insignificant results in Kattywar. The problem remained the same, only the Jharejas were thrown under iron-bound administration of Willoughby to suffer social dishonour, physical harassment, and psychological defection. Erskine's honest contention was always in favour of a more *rational* policy of administration in Gujarat. But as a subordinate officer to Willoughby he had obvious limitations to make his ideas acceptable to all superior persons who were then at the helm of British Administration in Western India.

Contextually, it is observed that Hon. Mr. James Farish, Governor of Bombay recorded his remarks in a minute drawn on 20 September, 1838, to note in this effect: 'Mr. Willoughby's matured judgment and knowledge of the people, lead me to acquiesce in his proposed amendments of the suggestions of Mr. Erskine. The suggestion of the Political Secretary [Mr. Willoughby] should be adopted. In Mr. Willoughby's remarks upon the eight propositions of Mr. Erskine for effecting the great benevolent object in view I entirely concur. *The Honorable Court should recommend to authorise an expenditure sufficient to ensure efficient measures for the diffusion of education in Kattywar.* The Proclamation proposed [by Erskine] should be amended by embodying much of that of 1834 [by Willoughby], so that it shall appear distinctly as a contribution of the former proclamation [of 1834]. I object to the circular, because of the inconsistency that would be involved in our issuing a document speaking of the Shasters as containing a declaration of the true law of God. The meeting of the Chiefs, if it can be effected in the spirit anticipated by Mr. Erskine, will, I trust, be attended with the benefits he anticipates.' This official document championed for the first time most categorically the need of 'diffusion of education' in Kattywar and by this singular event Erskine's motive stood vindicated.

Hon. Mr. J. A. Dunlop, another member of the Board of Governors, recorded his views in a separate minute of 22

September, 1838. He said, 'I quite agree in the general propositions for the suppression of Infanticide, but entertain doubts of the advantages to be expected from general convocation of ignorant, prejudiced men, who are confessedly incompetent to enter into, or comprehend our view' Remarks of the third member of the Board of Governors namely, Hon. Mr. G. W. Anderson are available from another minute drawn on the same date. Mr. Anderson wrote, 'I entirely concur in the view Mr. Willoughby has taken of Mr. Erskine's report, and in the measure he suggests where he differs from Mr. Erskine. I do not see either any necessity for the proposed proclamation; it proclaims what is already sufficiently known. *I admit that education and knowledge will ultimately change the feelings and habits of a whole people; but this is a work of time.*' To these comments Honourable the Governor Mr. Farish gave further opinion in this effect, 'with regard to the convocation I do not think it will do any harm; and in regard to proclamation it will perhaps be best to republish the former one with such modifications as the altered state of circumstances, and the census may render necessary'. Mr. Anderson in concurrence with Mr. Dunlop noted in a minute again to say, 'I must say that I doubt any good coming from convocation, and I should consider it a hazardous measure. On the question of the necessity for the proclamation I have given my opinion.' Outcome of such high-level deliberations on the proposals of both Erskine and Willoughby was that the Hon. Board of Governors decided ultimately to stop the proposed convocation of the Rajpoots for the time being in the very interest of the situation prevailing in the country at that specific period.

Such was the trend of developments right in the head-quarter of Bombay Government that accrued in connection with the interesting controversy between the Political Secretary to the Government and the Political Agent in Kattywar over the administrative policy designed for the Jharejas and their wicked custom of female infanticide. Even the Hon. Board of Governors had to lend their superior attention and judgements on the problem which took a serious turn to cause undesirable disputes and misunderstanding amongst the officers who were especially entrusted to solve the problem in question. The basic objective of British Government's policy of administration of the evils of infanticide was threatened to be jeopardised. Anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar was dragged at the cross-roads

in the middle of the decade of 1830-40. Naturally, judicious interventions by the Board of Directors became essential at this stage to pull the sluggish but controversial state of affairs out of the danger of its going completely disrupted and inactive. Tradition of anti-infanticide policy of the Government in Kattywar could be, thus, kept alive and strengthened more by some timely actions on the part of the highest body of British authority in the country.

Looking to the other side of the situation another set of interesting facts is noticed. These facts relate to the behaviour of the official censor *Moonshe Goolam Mahomed* who was selected by Erskine's predecessor especially to collect much-needed information about all concealed acts of female infanticide among the Jharejas living near or far of Rajkot. Moonshe Goolam was entrusted with a very crucial responsibility in digging out secret cases of child murder. A very delicate but trustworthy task the official censor in question was to execute in the best interest of the Government and his reports on and enumerations of Jhareja population were supposed to supply the most authoritative data in confirming the efficacy of Government's anti-infanticide policy which was in vogue in Kattywar for the last thirty years. Under the circumstances, Moonshe Goolam became the central figure of utmost importance to both the Jharejas and the British Resident of Rajkot. His conduct and performance as official censor as well as reporter of concealed commissions of infanticide could truly safeguard or otherwise the objectives for which Government stood lately for so many years. Goolam Mahomed appeared as the principal protector of British interest in the administration of the Jharejas. *A person who was a Muslim by faith was trusted enormously by the people of Christian faith to enquire into a Hindu custom and its functioning.* Such a curious conjunction of people with diverse religious disposition against Female Infanticide was definitely an interesting development in the history of Gujarat.

Moonshe Goolam was unfortunately not free from blemish and his *locus standi* fell short of British appreciation. As a matter of fact, Government's unique confidence on him was rudely shaken when his conduct was exposed by Erskine on 31 December, 1837 in his communication to Mr. Willoughby. Several documents¹⁰ received from the Jharejas concerned were also submitted to prove the charge of bribe-taking by the official censor who was genuinely expected to be loyal to his assigned

task. Erskine reported that in course of investigation into the conduct of the Jumadar of Arabs and the attachment Mehta at Mallia, in their being accused by the Thakoor Jhareja *Suttajee* of defrauding him of money in various instances it was learnt from the same Chief that Rs. 50/- was on one occasion extorted from him by the *Jubteedar*, for the purpose of bribing the Infanticide censor Moonshe Goolam Mahomed to conceal the birth and destruction of a female infant in the family of Jhareja *Wukutsing* of Nowagaum, one of the Mallia Bhyad. It was further written that Moonshe admitted the bribe together with other petty instances of receiving presents from the Chiefs. Giving the background of Moonshe Mr. Erskine informed that Goolam Mahomed had the advantage of daily and family intercourse with European officers of the Army, whom 'his father first, and himself afterwards, were in the habit, as Moonshe by profession, of instructing in the Native languages'. It was regretted that such a man should 'accept a bribe under any circumstances, however extenuating, would at all time appear strange, but that he should do so for the concealment of murder...would appear incredible'. Erskine suspended him for the present and took 'security for his personal appearance'. As a consequence, he noted 'the census is therefore in a state of abeyance'. That the Infanticide censor could be employed only after hearing the Government's decision was clearly noticed by Erskine.

Willoughby attended Erskine's report on Moonshe Goolam very seriously and directed in one of his letters dated 16 May, 1838, that the bribe of Rs. 50 received by Infanticide censor be refunded and credited to the Infanticide Fund. He approved also the appointment of a new Karkoon to conduct the duties of previous censor. Desire was expressed for an appropriate investigation of the charge of infanticide in Jhareja *Wukutsing's* family. Thus, the drama enacted by Goolam Mahomed came to an end indicating complete downfall of a person who gained once enormous confidence of the British officers stationed at Kattywar.

For about an year since Erskine's famous despatch to the Government of Bombay many significant developments took place within and without the Jhareja society. High officials of the Government were very intimately drawn into the intricacies of the problems which accrued since the strong administration of Willoughby in 1835-36 throughout Kattywar. Female Infanticide was the social issue for which the European administrators

got deeply entangled. But the policy of administration for the suppression of the odious crime of a feudal Rajpoot group became a matter of debate between the Political Secretary and the Political Agent, two very responsible executives of the Government, in the middle of 1830's. Such an unfortunate happening not only hampered the smooth progress of anti-infanticide movements, but also caused much anxiety in the Government. The very policy of administration of the people who were addicted to the custom of child-killing was badly shaken to signal loss of British prestige to the Jharejas and other Rajpoots of the area.

Hon. Mr. Farish, Governor of Bombay, in harmony with Hon. Mr. Dunlop and Hon. Mr. Anderson had to wield stricter power to resolve the problematic situation and in doing so they partly encouraged Erskine's views and mostly approved Willoughby's expert opinions to keep the objectives of anti-infanticide activities unimpaired. Importance of the said development reached its climax when the Court of Directors of East India Company at London pronounced their verdicts on the proceedings on the administrative decisions of the Board of Governors headed by Hon. Mr. Farish. In a despatch dated 13 May, 1840, the Court of Directors granted the following crucial observations to ratify Bombay Government's stand on the policy of anti-infanticide activities in Kattywar: 'Mr. Erskine's report on the progress of the measures for the suppression of Infanticide in Kattywar, during the years 1835 and 1836, is creditable to his industry and intelligence. . . . The results [increase in female number] altogether is by no means such as to call for that total change of measures which he (Erskine) seems to recommend, although some of his suggestions may be beneficially adopted in aid of the measures already in operation. . . . Mr. Erskine's proposition for allowing impunity to such acts (infanticides) prospectively for two years, trusting meanwhile wholly to indirect means and to moral influence, was altogether inadmissible'. Nevertheless, they approved Erskine's two important propositions, namely, (i) Rajpoot Chiefs in Kattywar be induced to enter into an engagement not to give their daughters in marriage to any tribe who would not give them their daughters in return, and (ii) Jhareja Chiefs be required to enter into an engagement that the expenses of the marriages of the daughters of their Bhyad should not exceed a certain amount, to be fixed at a meeting of the caste. They continued to write, 'we approve of your having instructed Mr. Erskine to adopt his predecessor's

practice of never exposing the parties to the inconvenience and dishonour of a public trial without first satisfying himself, by a private investigation, that there was ground for the charge'. Here ends the most exciting episode associated intimately with British Government's relation with the Jharejas and the other Rajpoots of the feudal society of Gujarat.

Next phase of development was enlightened by Captain G. LeGrand Jacob, Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, after a long gap of sixteen months since the publication of the decisions by the Hon. Court of Directors, London. It seems that the Government officials continued to follow in this time gap the policy of administration approved by the supreme body of the Court of Directors. It is evident that nothing spectacular occurred in Kattywar during the period under reference to cause special noting and consequently, no document is found to have been recorded in the *Sources book of Selection of the Records* of the Bombay Government (no. 39-40 of 1856). It is preceisely from Capt. Jacob's report of 23 October, 1841 further interesting facts and figures related to the Jharejas are obtained to understand the course of development in the very immediate past. Jacob's report is primarily significant to contain a detailed enumeration of Jhareja population and a census return of a new group namely, Jetwa about whom Mehta Nuthooram Munguljee of Porebunder happened to note earlier in his communication to Mr. Willoughby.

Since Erskine's despatch of 30 June, 1837 no annual report on Infanticide crime was drawn up and as per his official assignment Capt. Jacob looked into this pending matter of utmost importance to furnish necessary demographic data of the population in question. He was the first official who took census of some new infanticide-practising population besides the famous Jharejas. He submitted an up-to-date account of the Jhareja population under two sexes and marital status. His data referred to the population that was surviving on 30.6.1841. Thus, there was an *unfortunate gap of four years* in the continuity of census-operations which constituted one of many crucial measures designed to check the outcomes—positive or negative—of anti-infanticide actions taken so far by the Government. Census information for *Adhooe* and *Jetwa* was, of course, received by Capt. Jacob in the week containing the date of October 23. Omission of periodical report, for upwards of four years, was the direct result of Erskine's action against previous corrupt

censor, Moonshe Goolam and this event also shows how census—operation became the victim of the conflicting-attitude that grew lately within the officers who were primarily responsible to execute such function in Kattywar. While submitting his census returns Jacob noted, 'the census now submitted be received with some extra caution, the new censor (*Naka Wujeram*, an Bramun of Nagur caste) not having had time to visit all the Purgannas'. It is interesting to observe that this time the new censor was a Hindu of high caste.

Jacob recorded his analytical observations on the latest demographic data in comparison with those of Willoughby and Erskine respectively in this effect: 'The results of the present census are extremely gratifying with the exception of the Shahpoor Talooks, and Adhooe Purgunna of Moorvee. In the former, *not a single female has escaped the ruthless effect of Jhareja pride, in the latter the proportion of males to females is nearly 17 to 1* [this fact for the first time became public]. As Adhooe Purguna remained separated from Kattywar, the same escaped due vigilance of the British Government and remained in comparative ignorance of the strenuous attempt to suppress Infanticide that had been made, but Chief of Shahpoor was criminal-ly negligent'. Jhareja Kullajee, thirty years old Chief of Shahpoor, received still no punishment and no security appeared to have been taken from the Chief after his case was reported long ago by Erskine in June, 1837 in connection with the detestable crime committed by his brother Jhareja Bhawajee whose offence was executed long before on 12 June, 1836. Jacob recommended a fine of Rs. 1000 for the Chief of Shahpoor, but regarding Adhooe Jharejas a more lenient course was preferred.

To deal with the quantitative material relating to the sizes of male and female population of all Jhareja Talooks besides Shahpoor and Adhooe of Moorve, of Kattywar Capt. Jacob stated that the total male population reached the figure of 5760, whereas female population remained at only 1370. *This means that number of males per 100 females was 420.* Such high order of sex-imbalance continued to exist in spite of every 'British vigilance' and 'strenuous attempt to suppress Infanticide' that was made by Jacob's predecessors. The ruthless effect of Jhareja pride in female infanticide was apparent from this excessive disparity in sexes. Nevertheless, Jacob commented, 'the proportion of all ages is a fraction more than four to one, but the number of both sexes under 20 year of age is, male 2923,

females 1209; *showing a proportion of two and a quarter to one*, which favourable diminution chiefly arises from preservation of female life during the last few years, which gives the general result as follows :

1.	Proportion of males to females, under 10 years—	$1\frac{3}{4}$	to 1
2.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 9 „	$—1\frac{3}{4}$	to 1
3.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 8 „	$—1\frac{3}{4}$	to 1
4.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 7 „	$—1\frac{1}{2}$	to 1
5.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 6 „	$—1\frac{1}{4}$	to 1
6.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 5 „	$—1$	to 1
7.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 4 „	$—1$	to 1
8.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 3 „	$—1$	to 1
9.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 2 „	$—1$	to 1
10.	Proportion „ „ „ „ „ 1 „	$—1$	to 1

The correctness of these returns was further tested by the proportion of deaths occurring in 1840, which was shown as 3 to 1. At the time of Jacob the population in Kattywar was said to be 17 lakhs. The above analysis was, indeed, gratifying to establish the most significant demographic fact of a *neat balance in sex-ratio among the newly born Jharejas* and such unique development happened within last five years since Jacob's estimation. Restoration of sex-parity in the *newly born* population highlighted the positive aspect of all administrative measures of the British Government in Kattywar. It is true that with respect to the total population the male Jharejas outnumbered the female Jharejas and such demographic situation was precisely and entirely due to wanton killing of female infants in Jhareja families. But with the *newly born* Jharejas the demographic situation was what it should be. Anti-infanticide movements initiated by Col. Walker as early as 1805 began to yield positive results to the utter satisfaction of all who desired to see the end—complete end—of the most barbarous human custom prevailing in the contemporary, orthodox feudal society of the Rajpoots of Kattywar (Gujarat).

On the other hand, admitting the given satisfactory demographic developments caused by the Government measures which were in vogue consistently for long thirty five years against the crime of female infanticides Capt. Jacob happened to add some crucial comments in noting that the Jharejas were *still not free from the evil* in other respects, 'the distress caused to families by the feeling that whenever accidental death may have occur-

ed they are laid upon to be the victims of any one who owes them a grudge, and the entire tearing down of the Rajpoot curtain which inquiry inflicts, give rise to heart-burnings and animosities, even when the result is a conviction of the accused, and is perfectly to be lamented; ... The whole system in force is, moreover, one of perpetual and harsh inquisition into the domestic affairs of a proud tribe, carrying alarm into every family. If a wife be pregnant, if a child be born, if a daughter be sick, a messenger must be despatched to give notice to some superior power, who, if feud exists—and where does it not amongst a people like this?—may make each occasion a handle for oppression or annoyance. If an infant, per chance, dies, the family is kept in a state of apprehension for an indefinite time, as they can never be certain when an enemy may or may not, prefer an accusation against them’.

He continued to write, ‘I feel strongly impressed with the necessity of a line of policy that shall strike at the heart, and consequently at the root of the disease, and afford a permanent remedy. ... It is true that no immediate result can be expected from education, but the slow growth of its blessings is an argument for no time being lost in the attempt to impart them. *We may save life by the census, but how can we protect it from misery and neglect afterwards?* Whilst approving, therefore, of the present coercive system, I conceive that it should be looked on merely as a temporary expedient, and that it ought to be accompanied by healing and general measures, namely to create a higher tone of moral feeling throughout the community generally.’ Contextually, he mentioned that the huge sum of Rs. 1,16,786 had already accumulated in Infanticide Fund and ‘a large portion of this sum can not be more judiciously expended than in the cause of education’.

Capt. Jacob went ahead to suggest cessation of Government’s benevolence in granting marriage-gifts. According to him, ‘the grant of marriage-gifts to one particular class must be considered merely suited to a savage state, calling for change whenever the people should advance a few steps towards civilization.’ He argued, ‘it is evident that a state of society, where a race of wholesale murderers are looked upon with as much respect as others, must be vicious at the core’. Such being the case ‘general should be superadded to partial measures; that the amelioration of the whole state of society be attempted; and that our spare funds, raised from the community generally,

shall no longer be exclusively devoted to the use of a particular class'.

Lastly, Captain Jacob came out with some concrete recommendations to suit the administrative policy in the current, changed situation of Kattywar. Recommendations may be summarised as follows :

(i) Rs. 4000 be set apart from the Infanticide Fund for the erection of a school house.

To this proposal Jacob informed that he had already communicated his education-scheme to all principal men in the country and only four respectable persons concurred or otherwise with his proposal in writings. His circular letter containing education-scheme was also submitted to his Government on 21 June, 1841 for approval. The Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. Reid sent his approval on 27 July, 1841. Most interestingly, *Runmulsingjee*, the Koour of Drangdra supported Jacob's proposal with a financial promise. He agreed to pay Rs. 20 a year towards the execution of Jacob's education-plan.

(ii) A sum of, at least, Rs. 300 a month be set apart for the salaries of school masters and current expenses of the establishment.

(iii) Rs. 1000 a year be devoted to the encouragement of *annual essays* in the vernacular language on the subject of Infanticide, part as prizes, and the rest for expenses of printing numerous copies of the best essay, for distribution throughout the community. 'This measures would enlist *the feelings of the rising generation* against the crime; the scholars of the Rajkot college might catch the spirit of emulation, and it is not unreasonable to hope that, before many years, a popular feeling would be created adverse to Infanticide,' thus, pointed out by Capt. Jacob.

He also observed that the atrocious nature of the crime and the impossibility of eradicating it by any ordinary process had sufficiently and by the result most satisfactorily, proved the necessity of the rigorous measures that had been established. Other measures should be superadded, that might more speedily enable to dispense with what was then a necessary evil, and that the restrictions on the use of the *Infanticide Fund* should be abolished. Capt. Jacob endeavoured strongly to raise the immediate need for *formal education* in Kattywar and to this specific end he admirably reiterated the spirit of Erskine's novel plan of 'national education'. He stood as the best pleader for Erskine, but his line of actions was singularly more distinct and

erudite than that of his predecessor. Erskine pleaded his scheme to counteract coercive actions of Willoughby, whereas Jacob developed his scheme to combat the detrimental effects of certain social activities of the Jharejas themselves. Though the objective situation was highly contrasting in between 1835-36 and 1840-41 it can not be denied that Erskine was the real promoter of a new line of thinking in the circle of Administrators. Capt. Jacob could advance such scheme of revolutionary measure of administration definitely on the strength of what his predecessor initiated first. Without the precedence of Erskine's plans of 'national education' Jacob could not dare to proceed so boldly with his current proposal. It is, indeed, remarkable to note that within such a short interval of four years Erskine's move for instituting a 'radical measure' against the social evil of female infanticide could gain an impressive recognition from the Government of Bombay through its Chief Secretary Mr. Reid. Such development needs a special mentioning in the social history of Kattywar of mid-nineteenth century.

Before the time of Jacob, suppression of the crime of female infanticide *at any cost* was the cardinal issue and for the same different anti-infanticide actions—strong or mild—were executed by the British officers concerned to bring a real demographic improvement in the abnormal disparity of sexes among the Jharejas. Once this task had been achieved, they confronted with many new problems, solution of which was beforehand not available to the Administrators. Latest demographic results were, no doubt, a matter of gratification, but sociological consequences attendant to such results could not naturally be administered with the same measures which were directed against female infanticides. A new policy of administration was, under the circumstances, becoming imminent to cope with the changed situation in Jhareja society and the sole motive of Captain Jacob was to emphasize this pressing need in the very interest of the Government and the governed to Mr. J. P. Willoughby.

Abstract-census of the Jhareja Population in Kattywar for the year 1840 is reproduced below as per Capt. Jacob's report of 23 October, 1841.

During the latest census-operation *three new Talooks* were brought for the first time under the jurisdiction of the official censor and accordingly, population-size of the Jharejas became enlarged. With this new situation it is observed interestingly

Sl. No.	Talooks	Population of all ages.			Population at age 20 yrs. and under.			
		male	female	male-excess	male	female	male-excess	female-excess
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Nowanugger	3307	816	2491	1610	103	907	0
2.	Moorvee	481	114	367	256	105	151	0
3.	Dheral	387	112	275	221	99	122	0
4.	Rajkot	47	16	31	23	12	11	0
5.	Gondul	394	87	307	200	78	122	0
6.	Kotra Sanganee	64	11	53	33	11	22	0
7.	Veerpur Khureree	87	14	73	51	14	37	0
8.	Drappa	166	28	138	85	28	57	0
9.	Mallia	47	15	32	29	14	15	0
10.	Jallia Dewanee	45	12	33	19	12	7	0
11.	Kheerusra	70	17	53	40	17	23	0
12.	Lodheeka	35	4	31	19	4	15	0
13.	Gowreedur	17	4	13	9	3	6	0
14.	Shahpoor	22	0	22	13	0	13	0
15.	Rajpura	50	7	43	29	7	22	0
16.	Mengnee	22	9	13	12	8	4	0
17.	Bhadwa	8	3	5	4	3	1	0
18.	Satodur Waoree	82	23	59	52	20	32	0
19.	Mooleeladeree	131	20	111	61	18	43	0
20.	Gutka	22	4	18	11	4	7	0
21.	Kotharia	5	3	2	3	3	0	0
22.	Paal	12	3	9	9	2	7	0
23.	Seesang Chandlee	64	16	48	21	14	7	0
24.	Kotra Nayajee	44	11	53	27	10	17	0
25.	Veerwa	2	0	2	2	0	2	0
26.	Muwa	5	1	4	0	1	5	0
27.	Kankseealee	9	2	7	6	1	5	0
28.	Wudalee	8	2	6	5	2	3	0
29.	Wankanur							
30.	(Jhala Talook)	12	9	3	6	9	0	3
	Adhooe Purgana	115	7	108	67	7	60	0
31.	All Talooks :	5760	1370	4390	2923	1209	1718	4

that amongst the population within 20 yrs. and below *the number of males were 241 for every 100 females*. Sex-ratio improved appreciably to minimise disparity between male and female proportions in question. This improvement was caused definitely by the acts of preservation of female infants in the Jhareja families. In this context, the figures for total deceased (males and females) were shown to be 147 and 47 by the end of 1840. In Dhural (Dherol) Talook alone 53 males and 8 females deceased and these figures were the highest. Next to this Talook was the position of Gondul where mortality of 22 males and 7 females was recorded. In seven Talooks namely Lodheeka, Shahpoor, Kotharia, Paal, Verwa, Kankseealee, and Wudalee no death figure was available.

Another interesting piece of information was available to see the total number of Jharejas who had preserved per Talook one, two or more daughters in their respective family. Altogether 791 Jharejas of all the thirty Talooks, except Shahpoor, Veerwa, and Kankseealee, were found to possess *one daughter alive* in their individual family. The Jharejas having *two daughters alive* in their respective family were 210 in number and they were enumerated from all the Talooks, except Gowreedur, Shahpoor, Bhadwa, Paal, Kotra Nayajee, Veerwa, Muwa and Wudalee. In only five Talooks, namely, Nowanugger, Morvee, Dherol, Rajkot, and Gondul a total of 43 Jhareja parents was found to possess *three daughters alive* in their respective family. Again, it was only in the Talook of Nowanugger 6 Jharejas individually had *four daughters alive* and one Jhareja family only presented *five daughters* in living state.

Capt. Jacob furnished another demographic account to show the total Jhareja population *classified by age* for all and by *marital status* for only females. A summary of this account is produced below to indicate age-distribution of males and females and civil condition of the female Jharejas. Mortality under different ages was also supplied and the same is noted here.

Thus, it is of sociological interest to learn that of the total Jhareja females *26 per cent were in wedlock*, while as high as *58 per cent remained unbetrothed*. Widows constituted a tiny portion (3 per cent). Among the married females those who were within the age-category of 16-25 years concentrated maximum and they alone accounted for 62 per cent of total marrieds. This means that most of the married females of the Jhareja society were in the most fertile years of their reproduc-

age level (in year)	number of males	number of females				deaths		
		married	widowed	betrothed	unbetrothed	total	male	female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1	96	—	—	—	128	128	23	17
2	122	—	—	1	94	95	9	14
3	141	—	—	1	110	111	3	7
4	143	—	—	1	115	116	3	3
5	165	—	—	3	67	70	6	1
6	176	—	—	10	46	56	7	2
7	201	—	—	13	45	58	1	0
8	225	—	—	20	45	65	4	0
9	150	2	—	14	38	54	0	0
10	232	2	—	30	41	73	0	1
11	113	2	—	13	13	28	0	0
12	236	11	1	26	17	55	0	1
13	103	11	—	13	7	31	0	0
14	158	16	—	17	11	44	2	0
15	124	34	—	10	7	51	0	0
16-25 *	1066	221	12	14	12	259	8	1
26-35	910	52	9	—	—	61	13	0
36-45	781	7	7	—	—	14	28	0
46-55	389	—	1	—	—	1	20	0
56-65	180	—	—	—	—	0	12	0
66-75	40	—	—	—	—	0	10	0
76-85	4	—	—	—	—	0	0	0
all ages :	5760	358	30	186	769	1370	147	47

* Age-groupings have been made for the purpose of the present tabular presentation of the data in question.

tive life and consequently, a flourishing population was ensured for the Jharejas in the near future. On the other hand, number of widows was astonishingly meagre to suggest enormous scope of remarriages of the widowed females in the Jhareja society. As a matter of fact, existence of plural number of wives and

concubines per feudal lord as reported earlier, was a strong pointer to such possibility of re-marriage. In this regard the custom of *Suttee* might be taken into consideration to explain paucity of widows among the Jharejas. In the absence of data on frequency of widow-marriages or *Suttee* immolations nothing definitely can be asserted in this aspect. Nevertheless, it must be noted additionally that 982 out of total 1370 Jhareja females were still to enter the state of married life and of these 982 young females as many as 956 were of and under age 15 yr. Moreover, the Jhareja daughters whose ages did not exceed 5 year were found to explain 38 per cent of total 1370 females of all ages. Such demographic feature was, indeed, significant in the background of the destructive influence of the custom of female infanticide of the Jharejas of Kattywar.

Regarding the *Jetwa* population of Poorbunder Talook, Kattywar, a separate statement was supplied by Capt. Jacob who had the unique credit to possess for the first time such demographic figures. *Jetwa* population was never enumerated in previous censuses. It is found from the statement that in 1840 among the *Jetwas* 77 males and 17 females were existing. This means that *452 males per 100 females dominated in Jetwa society*. Such extraordinary sex-disparity was on the same footing to that which was observed for the Jhareja population as a whole in the same year. Female infanticide was strongly believed to be the harmful factor to cause great imbalance of sex amongst the Jharejas and under the given demographic situation in the *Jetwa* society any factor other than female infanticide could not very reasonably bring about such abnormal excess of males. Of and under age 20 yrs. *Jetwa* males were found to be 35 against 15 females and here too sex-imbalance was prominent. On the other hand, it is gathered from the said statement that only 11 *Jetwa* parents had respectively *one daughter alive* and in only 3 cases the *Jetwas* had individually *two living daughters*. In no cases preservation of more than two daughters was reported. Truly speaking, the *Jetwas* followed the Jharejas very intimately to pay enormous respect to their society's dicta and familial pride in killing new born females.

Capt. Jacob provided with an interesting statement to docket the number of alleged cases of Infanticide that came under inquiry since Mr. Erskine's observations on 30 June, 1837-

He furnished detailed identifications of each accused Jhareja, date of female infant's death, date of inquisition, name of inquisitor and necessary judicial remarks. Particulars of each Infanticide case are briefly discussed below in the order given by Capt. Jacob.

(1) The first infanticide-case related to Jhareja *Wukutsing* of Nuwagam village of Mallia Talook. He was charged with crime of child-murder which took place in January, 1835, but his case came under investigation of Capt. Jacob, Asst. Political Agent, in May, 1838. The charge was finally proved and the *Girassia* was placed in confinement. This case was forwarded for kind consideration to higher authority and subsequently, Wukutsingjee was released by Mr. Erskine.

(2) Jhareja *Dadajee* of Seesang Chandlee Talook was the second culprit whose case was investigated by Captain Lang in July, 1838. Premature death of his infant daughter occurred in May and very promptly Lang took up his case on suspicion. Though no evidence was produced to substantiate the suspicion of murder of the said child, still, as the father failed to give information of its birth to Government, a fine of Rs. 5 was imposed on him in consequence.

(3) Next was the case of Jhareja *Hurbhumjee* of Gutka Talook who was tried by Mr. Erskine himself in July, 1838. The suspected death of his daughter was proved to be resulted from sickness sometimes in 1836 and infanticide was never the cause.

(4) Jhareja *Bawajee* of Mauglia village of Nugger Talook was put into trial before Mr. Erskine on July, 1838. But the charge of infanticide against this Jhareja respectability could not be substantiated.

(5) In August, 1838 Capt. Jacob investigated the accused Jhareja *Wujesing* of Meetana village of Moorvee Talook. But death of his daughter in May was due to some disease and yet he was not spared from harsh inquisition.

(6) Jhareja *Mansingjee* of Drappa Talook and Jhareja *Doodojee* of the same Talook were charged with the suspicion of female infanticides. Capt. Jacob investigated both the cases and the children were stated in defence to have died a natural death, and the charge was not substantiated.

These fresh cases expose at once a sad happening in indicating how the inferior Jharejas were subjected to unnecessary harassment and sharp anxieties in the name of administration of

female infanticide. Excess of Willoughby's coercive measures had already thrown its harmful impact on the people. This undesirable development was greatly disliked by Capt. Jacob and accordingly, he appealed to Mr. Willoughby who was acting by then as officiating Chief Secretary, to institute a good administration for the interest of the Jharejas in general.

A comparative table showing Jhareja population in 1833-34, 1836-37 and 1840-41 throughout Kattywar was also given by Capt. Jacob. This table has been appended below¹¹. Again, an interesting analysis of the proportions of the sexes among Jhareja population in Kattywar was made by him and such *analytical data* have been inserted in toto below¹² to show the trend of improved growth of female population among the Jharejas who were continually facing tremendous administrative pressure from British Government for their misconduct in observing lamentable female infanticide. Jacob also supplemented some *documents*¹³ to reveal how the inhabitants of Adhooe purgunna pledged to stand by Government's orders and engagements against infanticide.

Mr. Willoughby sent a memorandum on 1 June, 1842 to Hon. G. W. Anderson, Governor of Bombay, eliciting his expert observations on Capt. Jacob's report. His remarks and comments may be briefly noted as follows.

(1) Explanation of the circumstances causing *no report* between June 1837 and October 1841 was far more satisfactory. It was urged that Political Agent's report on Government's measures against Infanticide must be submitted regularly on 1st January in each year.

(2) Loss of 'detailed lists' from which the last census was framed was highly regretted.

(3) Proposal of a fine of Rs. 1000 against Jhareja Kullajee, the Chief of Shahpoor Talook was agreed.

(4) As the district of Adhooe had now *for the first time* been brought within the operations of census, some allowance was suggested for the non-observance of his engagement by the Chief who owned it. Since the census showed only 7 females out of total 122 persons in the area the Chief had to be warned once for all.

(5) Success of anti-infanticide measures during the last 10 years (upto 23 October, 1841) would be clear from the following demographic facts which revealed the population figures for the Jharejas between the age of one year and under, and age of

10 years, and also the *excess of females over males of the age of one year and under* :

years in which born	age in 1841	number of		excess of	
		males	females	males	females
1831-32	10 years	232	73	159	0
1832-33	9 "	150	54	96	0
1833-34	8 "	225	65	160	0
1834-35	7 "	201	58	143	0
1835-36	6 "	176	56	120	0
1836-37	5 "	165	70	95	0
1837-38	4 "	143	116	27	0
1838-39	3 "	140	111	29	0
1839-40	2 "	122	95	27	0
1840-41	1 and under	96	128	0	32
all years :		1650	826	856	32

Thus, the total excess of males over females was by 824 and the latest figure of births confirmed most spectacularly *excess of new born female infants over male ones*. This demographic achievement was, indeed, the unique event of the decade under reference.

(6) Notwithstanding the unfavourable results of census for the districts of Adhooe and the Shahpoor Talook the excess of *registered new births of male over female* in the province of Kattywar (within 30 Talooks) was in 1837-38 only 27, in 1838-39 alone 29, and in 1839-40 alone 27; while in 1840-41 the census showed an excess of 32 females over the males. Anti-infanticide measures stood, thus, justified and amply rewarded.

(7) Willoughby continued to state, 'the mode adopted by your predecessor whenever a case of infanticide came to his knowledge, was, in the first instance to hold a preliminary inquiry *in private*, previous to the accused party being placed publicly on his trial, in order to satisfy himself that reasonable grounds existed for the charge, and that it was sustained by sufficient evidence.... One great advantage attending this mode of procedure is that false accusations are thereby checked in *limine*, and the Governor in Council entertains no doubt that, from the

course adopted by your predecessor, had that officer continued in Kattywar, several of the cases publicly investigated in 1836 would never have preceeded beyond the preliminary investigation above adverted to. The Governor in Council considers it to be the duty of the Political Agent to investigate every charge of Infanticide which may come to his knowledge without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed ; but, that, in the first instance, *his inquiries should be private*, and that when in this manner he has satisfied himself that fair grounds exist for putting the accused on his trial, he should do so, but not before.' Willoughby here reiterated Government policy of investigation into cases of infanticide which was notified on 16 February, 1839 to Mr. Erskine in consonance with the majority view of the Board of Governors. Such policy statement was at once needed to explain the mishaps that were resulted in investigating five cases of infanticide on false acquisition.

(8) Enquiries were to be instituted to ascertain if Infanticide prevailed among other tribes of Kattywar besides the Jharejas and Jetwas. When Capt. Jacob could succeed in obtaining from the *Manka* and *Korunga* tribes of Wagur, and from the Jharejas of Adhooe, agreements to renounce the practice of infanticide he was highly recommended.

(9) Approval was extended to Jacob's proposal, namely, 'the wife or nearest female relative of the person employed to take the Jhareja census be associated with him in the performance of this duty.'

(10) It was recorded by Willoughby that 'all must coincide with Capt. Jacob in opinion that the present system can only be relied upon during the pressure of vigilant "supervision" and even, though other duties are neglected, the Agent must never relax from that supervision. The complete suppression of Infanticide be a work of time, but, looking back to the past, and seeing how much has been effected within a few short years, we are encouraged strongly to hope that a steady and continued perseverance in the measures now in operation will ultimately be crowned with full and entire success. On the 24th September, 1834, the date of my first report on this subject, the number of Jhareja females ascertained to have been preserved in Kattywar, of all ages, was 696 ; on the 23rd October, 1841 the date of the present [Jacob's] report, they amounted to 1370 ; *being an increase of 574 in less than seven years*, which certainly exceeds my most sanguine expectations.' The bright aspect of anti-

infanticide movements in Kattywar was, thus, portrayed in the above language by Willoughby himself.

(11) Question of Education must not be mixed up with that of Infanticide, though Jacob had renewed appeal for education-expenditure out of Infanticide Fund, as originally made by Mr. Erskine. Willoughby noted that 'Government had already once determined that the Infanticide Fund should not be trenched upon for purposes of education, and before departing from this resolution the consent of His Highness of Gaekwar would certainly appear necessary. The Political Agent might, however, still endeavour to what extent the Chiefs and monied men in Kattywar are disposed to aid in the introduction of a general system of education in that province.'

(12) Jacob's suggestion for giving Rs. 1,000 out of Infanticide Fund annually for best-essays against the custom of infanticide was accepted on principle. But it was suggested that the same might be initiated among the scholars of the *Native Education Society* in Bombay, the essays being afterwards printed and circulated in Kattywar. The sum proposed might be thus divided : First Prize : Rs. 300; Second Prize : Rs. 200, and Printing charges : Rs. 500.

(13) Political Agent should take necessary actions 'to embody the results of the present census in proclamation, noticing, in terms of commendation, those Chiefs who, by the results, are proved to have adhered to their engagements, and the reverse of those who have not done so. This should then be circulated throughout the province, to keep the subject alive in men's mind, and to prove that the Government is resolved to preserve its effort to suppress the inhuman practice of Infanticide.'

(14) The orders served by the Government in the letter of 22 November, 1834 had to be implemented, if not done earlier. Government liked to know whether the measure sanctioned to induce the Heads of those tribes who used to give their daughters in marriage to the Jharejas to stipulate at the time of betrothment for the preservation of female issues by such marriages had been acted upon, if so, with what success.

(15) Considerable stress was laid by Mr. Erskine (June, 1837) and in a minor degree by Capt. Jacob to mend the severity of the measures adopted for the suppression of female infanticide. Acknowledging their views Willoughby remarked that '*this to some extent may be admitted; but it is unavoidable and just-*

further elucidation of the facts. Similarly, the translated version of the Petition¹⁵ submitted by 'the greater part of the Rajkot Bhyad' was also available along with his reply. In this petition Jhareja *Wagjee* of Rajpurra, *Jussajee* and *Phuljee* of Lodheka, *Wunajee* of Bhadwa, *Suttanjee* of Parasun, *Jethejee* of Pal, and *Mudar Sing* of Trumba joined together to intercede for Kullajee and this joint-appeal was submitted on 26 October, 1842 to Captain Jacob. They remarked that Jhareja Kullajee had not committed the crime, rather 'in the year 1891 (1835 A.D.) the premature birth of a female occurred in his brother *Bhawabhajee's* family, who died instantly.' They informed also that 'afterwards, in his Bhyad village of Purwulla, a daughter was born to Jhareja *Mooloojee* in Sumvut 1892 (1836 A.D.), who lived for two years; she was attacked with small-pox'. In this regard Jemedar *Soobhan Sing* was sent to see the girl, who lived four or five months since his visit and afterwards died, which event was also brought to the notice of Government. Birth of another daughter to Jhareja *Tukkutsing* in 1836 A. D. was noted, but she died two years later, 'when with her mother on a visit to her parent *Wala Ujoobhaee's* house at Tullajee'. Additional information on several more births and deaths of female infants due to sickness in Shahpoor was acknowledged in their petition. They assured to obey the arrangements and engagements that Government had meanwhile executed with them and finally they pleaded for remission of Kullajee's fine.

In connection with the demographic situation of Adhooe district the Moorve Chief happened to record his *observation*¹⁶ in a letter of 7 October, 1842 to Capt. Jacob. This letter was by far most important to Jacob because through this letter he could learn the reactions of one of the principal Jhareja respectabilities of Kattywar. The Chief of Moorve admitted that 'female life in that district [Adhooe] is seldom preserved,—a matter of deep dissatisfaction.' He informed also that effectual arrangements for the suppression of the crime of child-slaughter which was strongly desired by the Government had been instituted to honour the decision of the Honourable the Governor in Council. He wrote, 'it is my desire to comply with all the injunctions of Government; besides, I will not deviate from the path of religion, and I am not inattentive to the subject as regards Adhooe'. As the lord of the district the Chief of Moorve took timely notice of the deplorable condition of Adhooe and thereby saved the local

Jhareja families from possible punitive actions of Willoughby and his associates in the Government.

A letter¹⁷ from Dherol Chief written on 21 July, 1842 to Capt. Jacob must be referred here. This letter contains for the first time the news of existence of infanticide-practice amongst a new Jhareja group, namely the *Soomra* tribe of Dherol district. Knowledge about the Soomras was not available in any earlier records. Dherol Chief wrote himself, 'I beg to state that arrangements shall be made to prevent this tribe following such evil practices, as requested by you'. On the other hand, Moorve Chief's letter of 7 October, 1842 added more light on the question of the *Soomra* people¹⁸. He acknowledged Jacob's order that was issued on 15 September, 1842 and stated that he despatched a Mehta amongst the people 'with directions to make inquiry and enter into precautions'. He assured a census of the Soomras within a short interval.

Capt. Jacob continued to observe in his letter that he felt sorry to learn that a *female censor* could not be appointed due to prejudices of the Nagur caste, to which the present censor belonged. 'The chief difficulty is the *alarm of being called on personally to give evidence before any functionary of Government in case of real or supposed infanticide*. The Nagur Caste is particularly tenacious of the privacy of their women,' thus, opined Jacob for a correct perusal of the psychological background of the supposed prejudices. Next, he was found to continue his emphasis on the issues of education and employment of Infanticide Fund for furtherance of the cause of education against the immoral practice of Infanticide of the Jharejas. He urged that Government should take the lead in instituting education in close co-operation with the Chiefs of the community and he pleaded for a revision of Government's earlier decisions, namely, 'not to mix up education with Infanticide'. He reiterated the need for a fixed sum of Rs. 1000 out of Infanticide Fund annually and the same amount was desired to form the *prize-fund* for good and effective essays against Infanticide custom. He remarked, 'Board of Education would seem the proper Tribunal to decide on the merits of the several competitors'. Jacob admitted in this occasion his ignorance about 'any steps taken to induce the heads of the tribes who give their daughters to the Jharejas to stipulate for the preservation of female issues previous to marriage after August,

1835.' In this particular context Jacob was prompt enough to record that he was sanguine of every success in this desirable object, but he liked equally to make note of this social fact that 'besides the apathy that pervades the whole community, and the dislike to what they consider interference with their family concerns, *no party likes to deprive his daughters of the chances of respectable Jhareja alliances*, which, unless all could be brought to make cause, would naturally be the case with whoever first set the example.'

Jacob transmitted along with his letter an application from the Jam of Nowanugger, asking the assistance of Government for 21 members of his Bhyad, to facilitate the marriages of 22 daughters. Jam's letter was issued on 13 September, 1842 and the same was very favourably recommended to Government for necessary actions. It was observed by Jacob that 'the Jam has all along regarded the anti-Infanticide measures of Government with extreme jealousy, and it is a great point gained that he should, by the step which he has now taken for the first time, thus tendered them a species of voluntary acknowledgment. The amount asked for is higher than the sums usually granted by Government. On similar occasions, and an average of Rs. 200 for each daughter, making a total of Rs. 4400, might be considered sufficient.'

Jacob's admirable role in piloting anti-infanticide movements of British Government in Kattywar has to be distinguished in the social history of the Jharejas. They found in him a sympathetic counsellor who laboured hard to tone down the coercive system of administration at one hand, and to initiate a radical measure in causing mitigation of the Jhareja's miseries and pains. His consistent effort towards promotion of education in Kattywar was essentially praiseworthy in the immediate context of some notable developments that took place at the instance of the Board of Education, Government of Bombay very shortly after the entry of Mr. A. Malet as the new Political Agent in Kattywar. Mr. Willoughby, Secretary to the Government, sent a communication to this new Political Agent on 17 May, 1843, intimating pleasure of the Governor in Council 'to remit the fine of Rs. 1000 which Government, at the recommendation of that officer [Capt. Jacob], ordered to levy on Jhareja Kullajee of Shahpoor. The grounds of this remission should be explained to Jhareja Kullajee, and to the Chiefs who have interceded on his behalf, with a distinct intima-

tion that should Kullajee hereafter fail to co-operate with Government for the suppression of the crime of Infanticide, his Talooka will be placed under sequestration'. Contextually, Willoughby expressed his utter satisfaction on the fulfilment of the promise given by the Chiefs of Moorve and Dherol but insisted at the same time on stricter vigilance to see the promises were respected hereafter.

It is further gathered from Willoughby that the Honourable the Governor in Council was pleased to sanction a donation of Rs. 5000, being granted from the Infanticide Fund for the marriage of 21 Jhareja maidens in the Nowanugger Talook, Chief of Nowanuggur was, thus, accorded a singular honour which he deserved for his exemplary conduct against infanticide crime.

Willoughby insisted again that Infanticide Report must be submitted regularly on the 1st of January of each year, as directed by Mr. L. R. Reid, Chief Secretary to Government's Political Department in his communication of 12 August, 1842.

Regarding the proposed establishment of a prize for the best essay against the practice of Infanticide he forwarded a copy of his letter¹⁹ of 17 May, 1843 which was addressed to the Secretary to the Board of Education. Subsequent reply²⁰ received from Dr. C. Morehead, Secretary to the Board of Education was also made available by Willoughby to follow the course of a significant development which effected strongly certain far-reaching impact on the inhabitants of the province. In his letter to Dr. Morehead the Chief Secretary to Government solicited expert opinion of the Board of Education on the proposals for instituting an essay-campaign against Infanticide custom and for awarding First Prize of Rs. 300 and a Second Prize of Rs. 200 to the winners amongst the talented competitors of the Bombay Native Education Society, Dr. Morehead replied to Mr. L. R. Reid on 16 June, 1843 enlisting his observations in this effect that 'the proposed essay against the practice of Infanticide should be composed in the English language, and accompanied with a Guzerathee translation'. Regarding the sum allotted for the prize being charged to the Infanticide Fund the Board was of opinion that competition 'should be open to the public (as affording the greatest likelihood of obtaining a good essay), and that the sum fixed for the prize should be Rs. 1000'. Dr. Morehead raised another issue by stating, 'should, however, the prize be charged to the

Education Fund, it appears to the Board that in this case competition should be confined to the scholars of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution . . . but that Rs. 500 should be fixed as a prize for the best essay, and Rs. 300 for the second'.

Mr. Reid agreed to the proposal of Dr. Morehead and asked him in his letter of 19 July, 1843 to issue a general notification of the terms on which the prizes would be awarded after obtaining Government's approval. To this Dr. Morehead again raised the suggestions which he forwarded in his letter of 16th June. He reiterated that 'if the competition was to be open for all the prize should be Rs. 1000 to draw qualified competitor' in the proposed essay-campaign against the demerits of Infanticide custom. Concurrent to his fresh letter of 2 August, 1843 Morehead sent also a *Notification*²¹ as desired earlier by Mr. Reid. This notification was acknowledged with some modifications by Mr. Reid who informed also that the prize-money was now raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 for the first and best essay and Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 to the second best essay. Dr. Morehead was noticed of Mr. Reid's revised orders on 19 August, 1843.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the *source book of Selections of the Records* of the Bombay Government, (no. 39-40), 1856, many more interesting documents of correspondences besides the text of Notification for essay-competition, were enlisted to throw light on Government's further actions in the matter under reference. These correspondences help study the contemporary British attitude for or against the utility of education being one of radical measures for curing the evils of the age-old custom of female infanticide. Mr. Willoughby was responsible to exchange these letters with many top-ranking Government officials and the letters being some *documentary evidences*²² relate essentially to Infanticide and have been appended below. These documents attest one basic fact that Government was vehemently determined to meet the problem of infanticide with all seriousness at their command and to do so they were prepared to explore every possible means that could be manipulated smoothly in the existing improved situation of Kattywar of 1940s.

From these documents of correspondences several noteworthy developments are noticed. They may be summarised as follows:

- (i) A high-level committee consisting of the Secretary to

the Government in the Revenue Department, the Secretary to the Bombay Education Society, and the Secretary to the Board of Education, was instituted by the Government of Bombay, to report whether, under the terms of the Government Notification of 12th September, one or more of four English essays against female infanticide deserved the rewards in question. The Committee was also desired to express opinion in regard to the Guzerathee version of the essays and the inherent merit of the essays in offering substantial aids to Government's anti-infanticide movements. The appointment of the Committee was notified in Willoughby's letter of 13 April, 1844.

(ii) The Committee in a communication dated 22 June, 1844 acknowledged four English Essays on Female Infanticide (three of which were accompanied with Guzerathee translations). The members were unanimous in assigning the first place to that essay whose motto was taken from the *Pudma Puran*. "He who loves sin and commits Infanticide," etc. Dr. Morehead and Mr. Townsend considered the said essay "well-written, spirited production, worthy of the highest reward", while the Rev. G. Pigott, the Secretary to the Bombay Education Society of the Government's Persian Department, was favourable to the Guzerathee version of the essay under reference. The second best essay entitled, "Virtue alone is happiness below" was thought far behind the first, but it contained instructive materials. Dr. Morehead and Mr. Townsend considered this second production as 'as one of ordinary merit'. General Kennedy expressed unfavourable opinion on the Guzerathee version of the second essay and as such this essay deserved no grant of any reward. The two remaining essays against Female Infanticide were declared to be very 'inferior productions'.

(iii) Shri Bhawoo Dajee, an Assistant Teacher in the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, was awarded the first prize of Rs. 600 for his commendable essay entitled 'Infanticide shall be condemned to the Hall called 'Tamisra''. This significant declaration was announced by Mr. Willoughby in his letter of 20 November, 1844 to Dr. Morehead, the Secretary to the Board of Education. The remaining three essays were rejected for their poor merit and Bhawoo Dajee became soon a historical figure of the contemporary times. On the same date Mr. Willoughby wrote to the Members of the Committee to inform his decision which was communicated to the Secretary,

Board of Education. But, he pointed out additionally to them that the prize-winning Essay of Shri Dajee was not altogether suited for publication in its present form and accordingly, the Members were requested to revise and condense the text of the essay in consultation with the author so as to make the revised essay more suitable for circulation in Kattywar, Kutch, and Gujarat, among the tribes in which the revolting crime of Infanticide was prevailing. The revised and condensed version of the Essay was later on published by Bombay Government.

The highlights of those hectic and crucial developments which were effected in the most eventful period extending from Mr. James Erskine to Capt. Jacob (1836-1844) have been discussed above with the immediate help of numerous official records and hereby we read the complicated course that was followed to sustain the infanticide movements in Kattywar. Many notable ups and downs in the history of British Administration for a feudal society in Kattywar (Gujarat) have been noticed in the decade in question with utmost interest. Official measures—coercive and sumptuary—which were implemented thoroughly against the Jharejas by Mr. Willoughby were censored for the first time by a spirited British officer named Mr. Erskine who took a bold, independent stand in exposing excesses in British Administration and obvious limitations of the anti-infanticide policy (outlined and acted upon by Mr. Willoughby). Mr. Erskine brought a new idea of 'national education' in combating radically all evils of the social practice of female infanticide. Captain Jacob developed his idea and attempted a novel strategy to push the anti-infanticide policy of Government towards a new perspective. Jacob promoted the cause of literary campaign against the crime by the native scholars themselves and thereby boosted a healthy mode of thinking in the highest quarter of Government. Mr. Erskine was successful to draw immediate attention of the Honorable Court of Directors, London, to the disquieting state of affairs in Kattywar and forced them to announce a bold policy of administration in protecting the general well-being and wounded pride of the Jharejas and other inhabitants of Kattywar. But his unique observations on coercive measures and their harmful after-effects on the morale of the Jharejas were ruled out by Government. Nevertheless, strong interventions by the Court of Directors, London, along with the Board of Governors, Bombay were enormously responsible to induce improvements in the constrained and

confused relations that accrued between Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Erskine, and thereby, anti-infanticide movements were timely rescued from almost a moribund state. Though Mr. Erskine's extra-enthusiasm led anti-infanticide campaigns at cross-roads, yet he was profusely liable to auger a more judicious thinking in the administrative quarters concerned. Cumulative impact of such thinking created as well as activated later on several official measures of important standing. One of these measures linked up the Board of Education of the Government with anti-infanticide movements. Sociologically this event was most significant for the inhabitants of Kattywar, Kutch and Gujarat of mid-nineteenth century. Mr. James Erskine and Captain La Grand Jacob illumined the feudal society of the Rajpoots of Gujarat by their untiring zeal and labour and eventually the Jharejas—a significant component of the large Rajpoot society of north-western India—gained a memorable position in the history of British Administration of this sub-continent. The Jharejas and their domestic custom of Female Infanticide constituted truly an interesting issue for social researchers, historians, demographers and political scientists.

REFERENCES—NOTES :

1. The correspondence from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to Jhareja JAM RUNMULJEE, of Nowanugger, dated Rajkot, 21st July, 1835.

After compliments.—I have the pleasure to forward, for your information, two copies of a proclamation recently published by Government in this province, upon the subject of Female Infanticide, to which I request your attentive consideration.

2. I have been instructed on this occasion to convey to you the satisfaction derived by Government on observing the progress which has been made in the districts subject to your authority in abolishing this inhuman custom, since the return lately furnished by you shows that *three hundred and eighty infants* have been preserved.

3. I confidently rely on receiving from you the most cordial co-operation in carrying into effect the measures in progress for ensuring the entire abolition of a practice so entirely at variance with the usage of mankind. I am happy to inform you that His Highness the Rao of Kutch has pledged himself to use his exertions to extirpate this heinous sin from his dominions, and I look to you, as the Chief of the Jharejas of Kattywar, to follow His Highness the Rao's example, by affording me every assistance in accomplishing the same object in this province. By doing so you will greatly add to your reputation, and establish for yourself and family the strongest claims for a continuance of the friendship and protection of the British Government.

4. I request you will do me the favour to give every publicity to the Government proclamation; and it would be highly conducive to the end in view were you on this occasion to summon to your presence your Bhyad and the whole of the Jharejas subject to your authority and inform them of your fixed resolve to punish with the utmost severity, and expel from the caste, any person who may still adhere to the barbarous custom of putting their female offspring to death, at the same time requiring them to renew existing engagements for its continuance.

5. You will observe that *Government has resolved to obtain a census of the Jhareja population of Kattywar*, and to require from the Chief of the tribe half-yearly returns of all births, marriages, betrothals, and deaths occurring in the district. The object of these returns is to enable Government to ascertain from the results how far existing engagements are observed; and I request your assistance towards rendering the returns of your districts as full and accurate as possible.

6. The British Government has established a fund for the relief of Jharejas in indigent circumstances and unable to defray the marriage expenses of their daughters. I shall on all occasions be most happy to pay every attention in my power to such representations you may make on behalf of Jharejas so circumstanced.

7. It is impossible to convey to you an idea of the intense interest

felt, not only by the Government of India, but by the authorities in England, to effect the entire extinction of the unnatural crime of Infanticide. Persons at a distance can scarcely credit the existence of such a custom among a highminded race of men, whose Shasters or Religion denounce it as a crime of the deepest dye, and so great as not to admit of expiration. In suppressing it, Government is alone influenced by motives of humanity and the purest philanthropy. It sincerely desires to effect the end in view by persuasion and by an appeal to the dictates of reason and religion; but, should these means fail, the severest penalties will be inflicted upon those who still adhere to the detestable custom; and, finally, it will become matter of serious consideration whether Government can with propriety maintain any relations whatever with persons who, after having voluntarily renounced the practice, and repeated warnings and admonitions, may still prove themselves to be utterly regardless of one of the first and most important duties of mankind.

8. Favour me with an early reply to this communication, and apprise me of such measures as you may adopt for giving effect to the wishes and orders of Government.

2. The correspondence from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to Jhareja PRETHEERAJEE, the Chief of Moorvee; of the same date. [vide Letter of 21.7.1835]

1. Similar to Para. 1 of the foregoing. [vide Letter of 21.7.1835]

2. I have been directed on this occasion to express the deep regret which Government has experienced on receiving the return you recently furnished of Jhareja children in your districts, showing that *whilst there are sixty-seven males only seven females have been preserved*. No further proof is required to establish the melancholy fact, that the barbarous custom of Female Infanticide still prevails in your districts to a considerable extent, because the inquiries of the learned have proved that in all countries the number of persons born of both sexes is nearly equal. Let me remind you that your late father, the respectable Jehajee, was the first Chief who set the example, twenty-five years ago, of renouncing this horrible practice, and that, in consequence, of the favours and friendship of the British Government. It is mortifying to reflect that the laudable example of your father has produced so little impression upon the Bhyad and other Jharejas residing in the Moorvee Talooka. I exhort you in the strongest manner to take immediate measures to ensure the strict observance of the engagements entered into by your respected father for the discontinuance of this dreadful crime; and I inform you, that should you fail to do so, and should future returns from your districts exhibit similar results, you will forfeit all claim to a continuance of the favour and protection of Government, and justly expose yourself to reproach and disgrace.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 3. Same as para. 4 | of the letter to the Jam. |
| 4. Same as para. 5 | ditto. |
| 5. Same as para. 6 | ditto. |
| 6. Same as para. 7 | ditto. |
| 7. Same as para. 8 | ditto. |

3. The correspondences from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to Jhareja CHUNDERSINGJEE, the Chief of Gondul Dhorajee; of the same date.

The same as to the Jam, with the exception of the 2nd paragraph, and the allusion to the Rao in the 3rd paragraph; and

- (b) From J. P. WILLOUGHBY to Jhareja BOPUTSINGJEE, the Chief of Dhurul Surrufdar; of the same date.

The same as to the Chief of Gondul.

4. The correspondence from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to Jhareja SOORAJEE, Chief of Rajkot Sirdar; of the same date.

The same as to Gondul and Dherol, with an addition as follows:—

In my letter of the 20th June, I communicated to you the decision of Government upon the dreadful instance of Infanticide committed in your house in 1833. I trust that the leniency extended to you by Government is duly appreciated; that you have been awakened to a proper sense of the heinous sin which, under the influence of a shocking prejudice, you committed; and that you will endeavour to restore yourself in some degree to the favour of Government by your future exertions towards the suppression of a practice long since renounced by your tribe generally, under the most formal engagements.

5. The correspondence from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to the CHIEFS OF DRAPPA.

Enclosed is a proclamation issued by Government, requiring your tribe to adhere to the engagements it entered into twenty-five years ago, to discontinue the barbarous practice of Female Infanticide.

2. The return of Jhareja children lately obtained from your district, unequivocally proves that this detestable custom has not been abandoned. The great disparity of 67 males to 10 females can in no other way be accounted for.

3. The practice is denounced as a sin of the deepest enormity in the Shasters of your religion, and is universally execrated by all classes of the community.

4. I hereby inform you that if it is proved by future returns that the unnatural custom is still adhered to, you will render yourself liable to the severest penalties; and if you neglect to attend to this friendly warning, you will run a great risk of losing your Talookas and the privileges you now enjoy. Reply to this communication; and the same letter was sent to the individual Chief of Veerpoor, Khurrere, Mooleeladeree, Sesang Chandlee, Kotra Nyajee, Rajpurra, Jhallee, Dewanee, Mallia, Lodeeka, Bharwa, Veerwa, Shapoor Wuddalee, Kaksealle, and Gulk and again,

(b) Circular to the Chiefs of Pal, Kotareea, Kotra Sanganee, and Mowa: The same as the above, omitting para. 2.

(c) In this context Jhareja DOONOURJEE, the Chief of KESURRAH, was also addressed in the following lines:

After compliments.—Enclosed is a proclamation, recently promulgated in Kattywar, against the unnatural practice of Female Infanticide, to which I request you will give every publicity.

2. It has afforded me the highest satisfaction to observe, from the returns of Jhareja children of your district, that yourself and brethren have paid so much attention to your engagements to renounce a practice so entirely opposed to the usage of mankind.

3. Your praiseworthy conduct having been brought to the notice of Government, I have been authorised to grant you a remission of *ten annas* from the tribute payable from Kesurrah for Sumvat 1890, and an honorary present in the name of Government in token of its high approbation of your exemplary conduct. These rewards will no doubt stimulate you to further exertions towards extinguishing a crime which has so long disgraced your tribe.

Send an early reply to this communication.

(d) WILLOUGHBY wrote also to the CHIEFS of Mengnee and Satodar Waoree, but the letter was same as the above, *substituting four annas for ten annas*, and omitting to mention an honorary present in the name of Government.

6. Mr. J. P. WILLOUGHBY's letter to the RAJA OF DRANGDRA and other Chiefs who gave their Daughters in marriage to the Jharejas.

After compliments.—Enclosed is a proclamation recently issued by Government, in Kattywar, against the practice of Female Infanticide.

Your are aware that *this custom formerly prevailed almost universally among the Jhareja tribe*, but that its renunciation was provided for under the most solemn engagements. Notwithstanding this, it has recently been established beyond doubt, that the barbarous custom is still adhered to, to a very considerable extent.

Further measures have therefore become necessary to effect the complete abolition of the custom; and the object of my writing to you is to suggest that it be made a stipulation in all marriage contracts entered into between Rajpoots of the Jhalla tribe and the Jharejas, that the practice shall be discontinued.

I rely on your adopting measures for carrying this suggestion into effect within your territory. The practice of Infanticide is revolting to human nature, and is denounced as an inextinguishable sin in the Shasters of your religion. By co-operating with me in its discontinuance, you will be doing what is acceptable to God and man, and entitle yourself to the thanks and approbation of the British Government.

Favour me with an early reply to this communication.

7. The letter from J. P. WILLOUGHBY to BABAJEE BUCHAJEE, Minister of the Chief of Gondul; dated 21st July, 1835.

After compliments.—When you lately visited me at Porebunder, I conversed with you upon the subject of the custom of Female Infanticide and I apprised you of the measures which I intended to adopt to secure its entire suppression.

2. This practice being so much a detestable character, and its observance so at variance with the affection implanted by nature in the hearts of parents for their children, I am sanguine that its ultimate abolition may confidently be expected.

3. It is my desire to enlist the feelings of the whole community in behalf of this sacred cause, so that it may become generally execrated and be ultimately regarded by the tribe among whom it prevails as the great and inexpiable sin it is described to be in your Shasters.

4. I have written to the Chief whose minister you now are, requiring him to see that Colonel Walker's engagements are strictly adhered to. I request the constant exertion of the influence you must possess, from your situation, as well as high and respectable character, over the Gondul Jharejas, to give effect to those settlements.

5. Enclosed is a proclamation recently issued by Government on this subject, to which I will thank you to give all the publicity in your power. I request also your attention to a letter I have written on the subject to the Chief of Gondul, and that you will urge him to adopt immediate measures for giving effect to the wishes communicated to him.

6. Should any case of Infanticide come to your knowledge, you should communicate the same to me. *There is no doubt the practice still prevails to a very considerable extent.* The British Government is resolved to suppress it, and should persuasions and admonitions fail to effect this, severe penalties will be inflicted.

7. I shall be happy to receive an early reply to this letter, and if any measures occur to you likely to aid in the end in view, I shall be glad if you will state them; you could not perform a more acceptable service than that of suggesting any mode by which the crime of Infanticide may be diminished or extinguished altogether.

Consider me your friend and well-wisher.

8. Mr. WILLOUGHBY's circular letter of 29 September, 1835 to as many as 80 Mehtas on attachment duty, forwarding them the proclamation, directing them to assemble the Jharejas in their vicinity and to read and explain its contents, and to be careful to report him any case of Infanticide.

9. The letter from RUNCHORJEE DEWAN, of Joonaghur, to J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esq., Political Agent in Kattywar, dated Assoo Vud 22nd (12th July, 1835).

After compliments.—Your favour, together with the proclamation, has been received. The Jharejas, in putting their daughters to death, commit a great sin. The Shasters describe this sin as one of the greatest enormity. The custom of Infanticide is not sanctioned in any of the Poorans that I have ever heard of. A woman cannot be deprived of life even if she is the most depraved and abandoned of her sex. The guilt, therefore, of putting an innocent infant to death is of the blackest dye. The British Government, in abolishing this inhuman practice from motives of religion and humanity, has gained for itself the highest reward of virtue. There are certain tribes of Rajpoots who put their daughters to death. *The causes which appear to me to have led to the practice are mentioned below.* These causes, however, no longer exist, and it is unaccountable their still continuing to practise the crime.

The causes I mentioned are as follows :—
those religion and virtue, and violence cannot be exercised by one

individual against another. It is therefore unnecessary to continue the practice of infanticide. The greater portion of Jharejas do not adopt this dreadful crime; but those who do so will abstain, in obedience to the will of Government. As you have written to me to co-operate in the abolition of the custom, and as it is a work of piety, no endeavours will be spared on any part. Write in return, commanding me to do you service.

10. The documents in question read as follows :

(a) Deposition of Jhareja SUTTAJEE, Chief of Mallia.

When Moonshee Goolam Mahomed came to Kakrejee to take the Jhareja census, my mother and I privately told him that Wukutsing, of Nowagaum, had killed a daughter. The Moonshee, took a memorandum of this. He lived at this time with Rowjee. Rowjee afterwards sent for Wukutsing and told him of my accusation. That night Teja and Rowjee came to my house and blamed me for what I had done, saying I should lose my character by it, and that my family would be dishonoured by being dragged before the Sirkar. They succeeded in acting on my fears to such a degree, that at their request I consented to pay Rs. 50 in order to have the business quashed, and this they promised me; and they added, that by my giving the Moonshee this sum, and Wukutsing's paying him something which they would manage for him, he would take no notice of my report. I told Rowjee to pay the Moonshee Rs. 50, and charge the sum to my deposit with him. The Moonshee, the second day afterwards, departed in company with Wukutsing for Nowagaum.

(b) Deposition of TEJA BANYAN.

During Kooer Moolwajee's marriage, about two years ago, Moonshee Goolam Mahomed came to Kurrejee. Suttajee informed him that Jhareja Wukutsing had killed a daughter. Wukutsing, hearing of this accusation, sent word to Rowjee that he could prove several causes against Suttajee. Upon Rowjee's telling this to Suttajee and his mother, they had a long private conversation with Rowjee, and got him to agree on the part of Goolam Mahomed to quash the affair, on their paying him Rs. 50; accordingly Suttajee ordered me to give Rowjee credit for this sum, and desired that Rowjee should be permitted to insert it in his account as "ready cash paid Suttajee." When the Bae and Suttajee came out of the room after their conference with Rowjee, they told me they had quashed the affair, because they did not wish to be dragged before the Sirkar as witnesses; but they did not mention their real fears, which were the counter accusations of Wukutsing.

(c) Deposition of Moonshee GOOLAM MAHOMED.

When Captain Lang was at Adhooe I was employed on the census duty at Mallia. I arrived at Kukrejee at ten at night. Next morning I visited Rowjee at his request, and he desired me to live with him, to which I consented. The same day, or the next, I called on Suttajee to take down the names of his children. His mother was with him, and she told me, in his presence and that other people, that Jhareja

Wukutsing of her Bhyad had committed the crime of Infanticide. She named a woman of Mallia as having been present on the occasion as midwife; but she desired that her own name in the case should be concealed, and she advised me to seize the midwife, and extort the truth from her. I took a memorandum of this communication without any remark, and, having gone home, told the whole thing to Rowjee. In reply, he spoke in Wukutsing's favour, saying he was a friend of his, and that Suttajee and Wukutsing were not on terms, which accounted for me false accusation of the former. To this I said nothing; and I went to Adhooe, and after seven days came to Mallia. From this place I sent for Rowjee, saying I wished to inquire into the Infanticide affair, and after some delay, he came with Wukutsing, and told me that it was all nonsense, he having inquired into the affair in my absence. He added, that as the thing was false, Suttajee wished to quash it, and would give me some money to gain that purpose. I argued the truth of it, till Rowjee finally seduced me. At last he prevailed on me to go to Kukrejee, where I accepted Rs. 70 from him, Heaven knows how, from Suttajee. Next morning I and Wukutsing left Kukrejee, and as I intended to visit certain Moorvee villages, and as his village was on the road, I put up at his house that night. In the morning, after breakfast, Wukutsing requested me to see his sister-in-law. I consented, and she spoke to me from behind a purdah. After agreeing to regard each other as brother and sister, she desired me to accept six or seven Korees for sweetmeat, and when I refused, she insisted on my taking the money in exchange for a choolee (jacket), such as a brother is expected to give his sister, and I agreed, and left the place with the Korees.

I have received petty presents from various people during my tour in the districts, such as provisions, fruit, etc. and sometimes small household articles. In one or two instances I have been offered presents of valuable cloths, etc. but these I refused. In a few instance, Jharejas receiving pecuniary aid from the Infanticide Fund have forced on my acceptance a trifling *nuzzerana* or so. I have no further acts of misconduct to reveal. This deposition contains the whole I have been guilty of.

(True translation)

J. ERSKINE, Political Agent.

11. and 12. (see overleaf).

13. The documents in question contain the following facts :

(a) Manka Koomba Meganee and Suya and Juga, also Manka Hurbhum and Waga and Kuma Palanee, with Wurshee and Sungor Puchan and Suja Rayaram Poonjane and Koranee Poonja Kheemane and Manka Jeewa Kheemane and Manka Kesurrae Siyanee and Manka Moola Berajane, Berajane, inhabitants of Rampura, under Adhooe, write as follows :—

We and our descendants henceforward and for ever will, on the birth of children, preserve their lives; we will never put them to death. Should any one in our caste do so wicked a thing, we will, on becoming aware of it, report the same to the Sirkar; we will not conceal the

Table of the Jharaja Population of Kattywar at the Epochs stated underneath, forming the basis of Mr. Report dated 24th September, 1934, Mr. ERSKINE's dated 30th June, 1837, and Captain JACOB's dated 1841, including the Nowanugur Census taken in 1838, not previously prepared.

Rajkot, 23rd October, 1841.

MALES										FEMALES									
Under Age of 20			Of all Ages			Married & widow			Total.	Betrothed			Unbetrothed			Total.			Total.
In	1836-37		In	1840-41		In	1836-37			In	1836-37		In	1836-37		In	1836-37		
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19			
613	1,499	1,610	3,005	3,307	86	214	265	77	115	120	178	438	431	341	767	816			
A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838	A.D. 1838			
61	279	256	543	481	3	11	20	3	18	11	1	27	83	7	56	114			
208	208	321	383	387	11	15	35	...	30	19	73	45	58	84	90	112			
15	22	23	39	47	2	4	5	...	...	1	1	3	10	3	7	16			
86	325	200	731	395	18	18	25	6	20	8	20	62	54	44	100	87			
3	14	33	39	64	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	11	1	5	11			
52	59	51	101	87	2	3	2	4	4	3	4	10	9	10	17	14			
67	95	85	184	166	1	2	2	...	1	4	9	17	22	10	20	28			
16	32	29	56	47	...	3	4	2	4	2	2	9	9	4	16	15			
28	26	19	50	45	5	3	3	1	...	1	5	6	8	11	9	12			
12	33	40	66	70	3	2	7	2	3	1	11	12	9	16	17	17			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
12. Lodeka			9	16	19	36	35	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	3	2	2	4
13. Gowredu			5	9	9	13	35	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	1	4
14. Shahpoor			3	12	13	18	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	7	2	3	7
15. Rajpura			30	38	29	59	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	6	8	6	7	9
16. Megnee			6	13	12	30	22	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	2	2	2	2	3
17. Bhadwa			18	6	4	11	8	...	...	...	1	3	4	1	15	12	24	26	23
18. Satodur Waoree			38	79	52	136	82	6	8	7	5	3	4	13	12	14	14	13	20
19. Mooleladerce			63	38	61	77	131	...	...	2	1	1	4	13	1	4	1	2	4
20. Gutka			4	5	11	16	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	4	1	2	4
21. Kotharia			3	4	3	6	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	1	2	3
22. Pal			5	8	9	13	12	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	1	2	3
23. Seesang Chandlice			37	51	21	100	64	3	5	2	...	1	...	10	10	14	13	16	16
24. Kotra Nayaje			24	31	27	54	44	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	4	9	2	5	11
25. Veerwa			2	2	2	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26. Muwa			2	3	...	8	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	1
27. Kankseelce			4	5	6	9	9	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	2	2	2	2
28. Wudalee			8	9	5	17	8	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	1	2
29. Wankaneer			Not shown	Not shown	6	Not shown	12	Not shown	Not shown	2	Not shown	Not shown	3	Not shown	Not shown	4	Not shown	Not shown	9
30. Adhooe Purguna under Morvee			Ditto	Ditto	67	Ditto	115	Ditto	Ditto	1	Ditto	Ditto	...	Ditto	Ditto	6	Ditto	Ditto	7
Total	1,422	2,921	2,923	5,804	5,760	140	288	388	105	205	186	358	695	796	603	1,188	1,370		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
13. Gowreedur	13 to 1	4½ to 1	3 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 0	1 to 2	1 to 1
14. Shahpoor	18 to 0	22 to 0	13 to 0	9 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	...	...
15. Rajpura	19½ to 1	7 to 1	4 to 1	2 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	2 to 0	1 to 1½
16. Mengnee	4¼ to 1	2¾ to 1	4½ to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	1¼ to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1 to 0
17. Bhadwa	5½ to 1	2½ to 1	4¼ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	...	...	...	1 to 2
18. Satodur Waoree	5 to 1	3 to 1	2½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 2	1 to 2½	2½ to 1	0 to 2	11 to 0
19. Moleeladerce	5 to 1	6½ to 1	3¼ to 1	1 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	2½ to 1	2 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	3 to 0
20. Gutka	8 to 1	5½ to 1	2 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	4 to 1	4 to 1	4 to 1	3½ to 1	2½ to 1	2 to 1	2 to 0	1 to 0	2 to 1
21. Kotharia	6 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 1	...	...
22. Pal	6½ to 1	4 to 1	4½ to 1	2 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	...
23. Seesang Chandlee	6¼ to 1	4 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 2	1 to 5	1 to 4	1 to 0	0 to 3	6 to 0
24. Kotra Nayajee	10 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 3	1 to 9	1 to 6	1 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1
25. Veerwa	4 to 0	2 to 0	2 to 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26. Muwa	8 to 1	5 to 1	0 to 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 to 1
27. Kanksealee	4½ to 1	4½ to 1	6 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 1	1 to 2	0 to 0	0 to 2	0 to 1	...
28. Wudalee	17 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 0	0 to 0	0 to 0	0 to 0	...
29. Wankaneer	Not shown	1¼ to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 2	1 to 3½	1 to 3½	1 to 3½	1 to 2½	1 to 2½	1 to 2	0 to 3	0 to 2	0 to 1	...	2 to 1
30. Adhoe Purguna															
under Morvee	Ditto	16 to 1	9 to 1	8 to 1	7 to 1	6 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	9 to 0	6 to 0	2 to 1
Total	4 to 1	4 to 1	2¼ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1¼	1 to 1½	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	3 to 1

crime. And when our wives are past four months' pregnancy, as also on occasions of birth and betrothment and marriages, and when our children are grown up and die, or deaths and births occur in their families, the same shall be reported : this applies to our relations. The Returns that we have given in (no Returns received) are correct; there are neither fewer nor more of our number : we neither know nor have heard of any other people in our village or in the Adhooe district who kill their children. If any new people take up their abode in our village, we will make the same known. We hereby pledge our faith and oath not to depart from this engagement, and imprecate on our heads the sin of Sumvut 1869 (implying the crimes that were committed in that year from pressure of want) and expose ourselves to the punishment that Government may think fit to inflict. We, one and all, hereby hold ourselves amenable to the same. Signed with the mark of the above-named parties and by five witnesses including the Sun and the writer Mehta Mukunjee Mulukchund.

14. (see overleaf).

15. Translation of the Petition from JHAREJA WAGJEE of Rajpurra, IUSSAJEE and PHULJEE of Lodheka, WUNAJEE of Bhadwa, SUT-TANJEE of Parasun, JETHEJEE of Pal, and MUDAR SING of Trumba; dated Sumvut 1898, Asoo Vud 7th (corresponding to 26th October, 1842).

We, the undersigned, petition that, in consequence of doubts of the continuance of Infanticide, created from the existence of eleven sons without any daughters in the Shahpoor Talooka in the Census for 1840, Government has directed a fine to be inflicted on Jhareja Kullajee of Rs. 1,000. We beg to represent, however, that he has not committed this crime. In the year 1891 the premature birth of a female occurred in his brother *Bhawabhaee's* family, who died instantly. Captain Lang inquired into this matter, and reported on it to the Government in Bombay, on which a fine was imposed of Rs. 50 not having reported the occurrence. Afterwards, in his Bhyad village of Purwulla, a daughter was born to Jhareja Mooloojee in Sumvut 1892, who lived for two years; she was attacked with small-pox, on which a report was duly made to the Political Agent, and *Jemadar Soobhan Sing* was sent to see the girl, who lived four or five months and afterwards died, which event was also reported. A daughter was born to Jhareja Tukksing in Sumvut 1892, who died in Sumvut 1894, when with her mother on a visit to her parent *Wala Ujoobhaee's* house at Tullajee. On receiving information of this event, a report was made to the censor. A daughter was born to Jhareja Huthejee in Sumvut 1894, who was attacked with a disease when four months old, and a report thereof was made to Captain Lang, who sent the Rajpura Zuptidar Mehta. *Roodurjee Nundaeram*, to see the child, who accordingly did so : the infant dying the day after his visit, a man was sent to inform the Mehta of it. In the above manner have four daughters been born in the Shahpoor family, and have died; and since then two daughters have been born in that Talooka in 1842, who are alive, and their births inserted in the Register : and as to there being many boys and few girls, this is

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
13. Gowredur	13 to 1	4½ to 1	3 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 0	1 to 2	1 to 1
14. Shalpoor	18 to 0	22 to 0	13 to 0	9 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	8 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	4 to 0	...	...
15. Rajpura	19½ to 1	7 to 1	4 to 1	2 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	2 to 0	1 to 1½
16. Mengreé	4¼ to 1	2¼ to 1	4½ to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	1 to 0
17. Bhadwa	5½ to 1	2½ to 1	4¼ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	...	...	...	1 to 2
18. Satodur Waoree	5 to 1	3 to 1	2½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 4	1 to 2½	2½ to 1	0 to 2	11 to 0
19. Molecladerce	5 to 1	6½ to 1	3¼ to 1	1 to 1	3 to 1	3 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	4 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	2 to 1	3 to 0
20. Gutka	8 to 1	5½ to 1	2 to 1	3 to 1	1 to 1	3 to 1	4 to 1	4 to 1	4 to 1	1 to 3	1 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 1	1 to 0	2 to 1
21. Kotharia	6 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 2	0 to 1	...	...
22. Pal	6½ to 1	4 to 1	4½ to 1	2 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	...
23. Seesang Chandlee	6¼ to 1	4 to 1	1½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	1 to 2	1 to 5	1 to 4	1 to 0	0 to 3	6 to 0
24. Kotra Nayajee	10 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 3	1 to 9	1 to 6	1 to 1	1 to 1	1½ to 1
25. Veerwa	4 to 0	2 to 0	2 to 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26. Muwa	8 to 1	5 to 1	0 to 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 to 1
27. Kanksealee	4½ to 1	4½ to 1	6 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 3	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 2	0 to 0	0 to 2	0 to 1	...
28. Wudalee	17 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 0	0 to 0	0 to 0	0 to 0	...
29. Wankaneer	Not shown	1½ to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 2	1 to 3½	1 to 3½	1 to 3½	1 to 2½	1 to 2½	1 to 2	1 to 2	0 to 3	0 to 2	0 to 1	...	2 to 1
30. Adhooe Purguna under Morvee	Ditto	16 to 1	9 to 1	8 to 1	7 to 1	6 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	5 to 1	3 to 1	9 to 0	6 to 0	2 to 1
Total	4 to 1	4 to 1	2½ to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	1 to 1½	1 to 1½	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1	1 to 1½	3 to 1

crime. And when our wives are past four months' pregnancy, as also on occasions of birth and betrothment and marriages, and when our children are grown up and die, or deaths and births occur in their families, the same shall be reported : this applies to our relations. The Returns that we have given in (no Returns received) are correct; there are neither fewer nor more of our number : we neither know nor have heard of any other people in our village or in the Adhooe district who kill their children. If any new people take up their abode in our village, we will make the same known. We hereby pledge our faith and oath not to depart from this engagement, and imprecate on our heads the sin of Sumvut 1869 (implying the crimes that were committed in that year from pressure of want) and expose ourselves to the punishment that Government may think fit to inflict. We, one and all, hereby hold ourselves amenable to the same. Signed with the mark of the above-named parties and by five witnesses including the Sun and the writer Mehta Mukunjee Mulukchund.

14. (see overleaf).

15. Translation of the Petition from JHAREJA WAGJEE of Rajpurra, JUSSAJEE and PHULJEE of Lodheka, WUNAJEE of Bhadwa, SUT-TANJEE of Parasun, JETHEJEE of Pal, and MUDAR SING of Trumba; dated Sumvut 1898, Asoo Vud 7th (corresponding to 26th October, 1842).

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a matter that depends on God, there is no remedy for this. But henceforward we will, all of us, in his and in our own Talookas, duly comply with, and cause to be obeyed, the arrangements of Government on this subject. No deviation shall take place, and we hold ourselves responsible for the same to any extent that may be desired by Government. We therefore entreat the Sahib to send our petition to Government. Should, notwithstanding what we have stated, suspicion of guilt continue, we pray that such may be forgiven, if not removed, and that the fine imposed on Jhareja Kullajee may be remitted.

16. Translation of the letter from the MOORVEE CHIEF to Captain JACOB, dated Ashad Shoodh 3rd, Sumvut 1898 (7th October, 1842).

A.C.—The Saheb's letter, dated Shrawun Vud 10th, has been received, in which it is stated that, on examining the tables of Adhooe Jhareja population, *the names of 115 males and only 7 females are inserted*, by which it appears that female life in that district is seldom preserved,—a matter of deep dissatisfaction, and which, on being reported to Government, a reply had been received, directing effectual arrangements for the prevention of the crime of child-slaughter, and, further, that the Honourable the Governor in Council would hold the lord of the district responsible for the same. Consequently, that I was to make these arrangements, taking care that no one henceforth deviated from them. In reply it is thus. *The Government had not formerly directed me to enforce these arrangements in Adhooe*, but in Mr. Erskine's time I received instructions of Government; besides, my desire to comply with all the injunctions of Government; besides, I will not deviate from the path of religion, and I am not inattentive to the subject as regards Adhooe. The disparity between males and females arises from the arrangements for preservation of females having only lately been established in the district. I have, however, again written strongly to the Adhooe Manager, and you may rely on my taking care that there shall be no inattention to the subject on my part.

17. Translation of the letter from the DHEROL CHIEF, dated 31st July, 1842, to Captain JACOB.

The Saheb's letter of the 14th July has been received, stating that *the Soomra tribes of my district are understood to destroy their daughters in the manner that the Jharejas were used to do* previous to the arrangements for their preservation, etc., etc. In reply, I beg to state that arrangements shall be made to prevent this tribe following such evil practices, as requested by you.

18. Translation of the letter from the MOORVEE CHIEF to Captain JACOB, dated 7th October, 1842.

The Saheb's order, dated Bhadurwa Soodh 11th (15th September 1842) has been received, stating that the Soomra people of my district are understood to destroy their daughters in the manner the Jharejas were used to do of old, and calling on me to make due arrangements for the prevention of this crime, reporting particulars thereof, &c. &c. On receipt of this letter I despatched a Mehta into the districts, with

directions to make inquiry and enter into precautions. I do not believe that there are many of the Soomra tribe in my country, but, after the Mehta's report shall have been received, I will write again and transmit a census of the Soomras.

19. The letter in question reads as follows:

C. MOREHEAD, Esq.,

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Secretary to the Board of Education.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable
Extract para. 24 of a letter from Mr. Chief Secy. Reid to the Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, dated the 12th August, No. 2127 of 1842.

Extract para. 8 of a letter from the Acting Political Agent, dated the 28th November, No. 238 of 1842.

the Governor in Council to transmit to you copies of the documents noted in the margin, for the purpose of being submitted to the Board of Education, and to request that the Board will be pleased to favour Government with their opinion in regard to the best means of attaining the object therein alluded to, and whether they consider that the offer of the sum of Rs. 300 for a first prize, and Rs. 200 for a second prize essay, would be a sufficient inducement to enlist talented competitors amongst the scholars of the Bombay Native Education Society, in the composition of an essay against the practice of Infanticide.

Bombay Castle, 17th May 1843.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. P. WILLOUGHBY,

Chief Secretary to Government.

20. The reply made by Mr. REID to Mr. WILLOUGHBY is as noted below :

To L. R. REID, Esq.,

Secretary to Government, Political Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Board of Education to acknowledge receipt of Mr. Secretary Willoughby's letter No. 1075, dated the 17th ultimo, with accompaniment, and, in reply, to acquaint you that, in the opinion of the Board, the proposed essay against the practice of Infanticide should be composed in the English language, and accompanied with a Guzerathee translation.

2. In the event of the sum allotted for the prize being charged to the Infanticide Fund, as recommended by the Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, in paragraph 8 of his letter No. 238, dated 28th November last, the Board are of opinion that competition should be open to the public (as affording the greatest likelihood of obtaining a good essay), and that the sum fixed for the prize should be Rs. 1,000.

3. Should, however, the prize be charged to the Education Fund, it appears to the Board that in this case competition should be confined to the scholars of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, as suggested in the letter under reply; but that Rs. 500 should be fixed as a prize for the best essay, and Rs. 300 for the second.

4. The Board are further of opinion that it should be distinctly made known to the competitors in either case, that the prize would

not be awarded unless the best essay was considered worthy of such distinction by the Examiners.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Board of Education, Bombay,
16th June, 1843.

C. MOREHEAD
Secretary.

21. The notification drafted by Mr. REID runs as follows :

NOTIFICATION

Prize Essays against the Practice of Infanticide.

The Honourable the Governor in Council has been pleased to authorise the award of two prizes for essays against the practice of Female Infanticide, viz. a prize of Rs. 600 for the best, and Rs. 400 for the second essay, subject to the following conditions :—

1. The prizes to be open to general competition among the Native students of any of the public or private educational establishments of this Presidency.

2. The essays to be composed in the English language, and accompanied with a Guzerathee translation; to be transmitted to the office of the Secretary to Government before the 1st March, 1844.

3. To each essay *a motto* must be affixed, and the essay must be accompanied with a sealed note bearing on the outside the same motto as that affixed to the essay, and, within the author's name.

4. The essays will be submitted by Government for the report of a committee selected for the purpose. The sealed notes which accompany the successful essays will alone be opened, and these essays will become the property of Government; the others will be returned unopened with their respective essays to the authors.

5. It is to be distinctly understood that the prizes will not be awarded unless the best and second essays be considered worthy of such distinction by the examining committee; and; in such case, all the sealed packets and essays will be returned.

C. MOREHEAD,
Bombay, 12th September 1843.

Secretary to the Board of Education.

22. The documentary evidences mentioned are the followings :
(a) E. H. TOWNSEND, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. in the Revenue Department; The Reverend G. PIGOTT, Secy. to the Bombay Education Society; C. MOREHEAD Esq., Secretary to the Board of Education.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint you a Committee, to report whether, under the terms of the Government Notification dated the 12th September last published in the Bombay Official Gazette of the 14th of that month you are of opinion that one or more of the accompanying *four essays* against the practice of Female Infanticide are deserving of the rewards offered in the above Notification.

I am also desirous to request that you will be pleased to state your opinion in regard to the Guzerathee version of the essays, obtaining the aid, if necessary, of the Secretary to Government in the Persian

Department, and whether any of these essays are calculated to aid the suppression of Female Infanticide, if printed and circulated.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Bombay Castle, 13th April 1844.

J. P. WILLOUGHBY,

Chief Secretary to Government.

(b) To J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR, — We have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 13th April, appointing us a committee to report on the merits of four English essays (three of which were accompanied with translations), with reference to the Government notification of 14th September, 1843, and authorising us to refer to the Persian Department, to enable us at the same time to report upon the merits of the translations. That reference was made on the 2nd May, and the reply of Mr. Escombe was received on the 19th instant.

2. We are unanimous in assigning the first place to the essay whose motto is taken from the *Pudma Puran*, "He who loves sin and commits Infanticide", etc. But some difference of opinion exists in the extent of our approval, Dr. Morehead and Mr. Townsend considering it a well-written, spirited production, worthy of the highest reward, while the Rev. G. Pigott does not think it, as it now stands, calculated to produce the impression desired by Government, though he is of opinion that it contains the elements of a paper calculated to have that effect. We all, however, think that it might with benefit be abridged.

3. General Kennedy's opinion of the Guzerathee version of this essay is, you will observe, generally favourable.

4. The next essay in order of merit, though far behind the first, is, we conceive, that having for its motto, "Virtue alone is happiness below." Dr. Morehead and Mr. Townsend consider this production one of ordinary merit, hardly deserving so great a reward as Rs. 400. Had the Oriental Translator's report of the Guzerathee version been favourable, they were disposed to recommend a reward not exceeding three hundred rupees, or half that of the highest proposed to be given by Government. Considering, however, the unfavourable opinion of the Guzerathee Translation of this essay contained in General Kennedy's last paragraph, they feel hardly justified in recommending the grant of any reward to the writer. Mr. Pigott was decidedly of this opinion before the Oriental Translator's report was received, and in this opinion we are therefore unanimous, notwithstanding the existence of some well-argued passages in this essay.

5. The two remaining essays are such very inferior productions, that we feel it to be quite superfluous to enter into any laboured discussions of their defects: merits they have none.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

E. H. TOWNSEND,

G. PIGOTT,

C. MOREHEAD.

Bombay, 22nd June, 1844.

(c) C. MOREHEAD, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Education.

E. H. Townsend, Esq., Secy.

SIR, — With reference to the

to Govt. in the Revenue Department.

The Rev. G. Pigott, Secy. to the Bombay Education Society.

C. Morehead, Esq., Secy. to the Board of Education.

Government Notification of the 14th September, 1843, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to inform you, that four essays against the practice of Female Infanticide were received by Government, and submitted for the

opinion and report of a committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin.

2. The report of the Committee being in favour of the essay written "He who loves sin and commits Infanticide" by *Bhawoo Dajee*, an Assistant Teacher in the Elphinstone Native Education Institution, with the motto noticed in the margin, and Government concurring in opinion with the Committee regarding the merits of that

Infanticide shall be condemned to the hell called 'Tamisra'.

essay, the Governor in Council has been pleased to award to the author the first prize of Rs. 600.

3. I am further desired to request that you will, under the authority of the Board of Education, be pleased to prepare and submit to Government a draft notification, announcing the name of the successful candidate, stating at the same time the names of the gentlemen who composed the Committee.

4. The General Paymaster has been instructed to pay to you the above mentioned amount, which you will be pleased to make over to *Bhawoo Dajee*.

5. Neither of the other essays have been deemed worthy of the second prize offered by Government, and they have accordingly been returned to their respective authors.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
J. P. WILLOUGHBY,

Bombay Castle, 20th November, 1844.

(d) E. H. TOWNSEND, Esq., Secy. to Govt. in the Revenue Dept.
The Rev. G. PIGOTT, Secretary to the Bombay Education Society,
C. MOREHEAD, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Education.
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

GENTLEMEN, — I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 22nd June last, reporting on four essays against the practice of Female Infanticide.

2. In reply I am desired to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council concurs with you in opinion that the first prize should be awarded to *Bhawoo Dajee*, the author of the essay on the above subject bearing the motto, "He who loves sin and commits Infanticide shall be condemned to the hell called 'Tamisra'".

3. The Governor in Council is, however, of opinion, that this essay is not altogether suited for publication in its present form. I am, therefore, desired to request that you will have the goodness, in communication with the author, to revise and condense it (this having been

done, the Essay, as revised, was published by Govt.) so to render it more suitable for circulation in Kattywar, Kutch, and Guzerat, among the tribes in which the revolting crime of Infanticide prevails.

4. The essay in question is herewith returned for the above purpose and I am desired to convey to you the thanks of Government for the care and attention you have already bestowed on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Bombay Castle, 20th November, 1844.

J. P. WILLOUGHBY,

Chief Secretary to Government.



FIFTH AND LAST PHASE OF DEVELOPMENTS : ANTI-INFANTICIDE MOVEMENT CONCLUDED : 1845-55

Restoration of balance in sex-ratio amongst the newly-born Jhareja children highlighted British coercive and sumptuary measures against the age-old practice of female infanticide. The paramount success of these measures during the last 10 years was, indeed, a matter of deep gratification to the foreign rulers who left no stone unturned in realising the sole objective of their anti-infanticide campaigns in Gujarat within a reasonable period. Several official functionaries dedicated themselves in that distracted territory of Kattywar to eliminate the evil influence of the practice of child killing at birth. The Jharejas were exposed enormously to a life marked by vicissitudes and their very social *cum* mental setting was badly shaken to its root. To these people of a feudal society the European administrators did appear as some meddlesome intruders who were thought to have been unnecessarily exercising extreme power and authority against a simple domestic issue concerning the local Rajpoots. But to the Government of Bombay female infanticide was not only an atrocious crime but also a destructive system. In the very interest of welfare and prosperity of Kattywar as a whole immediate abolition of this inhuman custom constituted one of their many essential but immediate tasks. Military officials were asked to follow all measures in achieving peaceful settlements in Kattywar and in doing so they were duty-bound to take profound and direct interest in all social anomalies and economic inequalities of the people whom they were going to administer in behalf of the East India Company.

Suppression of *Suttee* was indeed a bold act which signified British Government's genuine purpose of administration of evil customs of the Indians of those bygone days. It was no wonder then that they would take such determined stand against the manevolent practice of female infanticide as was witnessed in Kathiawar. Their actions in Kattywar were never any isolated event, rather the same was a component of the Government's over-all policy. This policy was designed to root out the barbarous practice from every quarter

where the same was then prevailing in India. In Uttar Pradesh Honourable Sir J. Duncan took first revolutionary steps against this criminal custom of the *Rajkoomar* Rajpoots in 1789 and to this glorious tradition was added the experiences of anti-infanticide actions in Kattywar. The *Jharejas*, *Jetwas*, and *Soomras* of Gujarat were brought under strict vigilance and interposition so as to make them fully dissociated with the abnormal custom of child-killing. Mr. J. P. Willoughby as the Political Secretary to Government of Bombay shared the heaviest responsibility and deepest anxiety to steer administrative actions judiciously against Rajpoots' propensity for female infanticides and in his task he was admirably assisted by Captain Jacob and his co-functionaries in Kattywar. Willoughby's endeavours were crowned with admirable success in the fifth and last phase of developments related to anti-infanticide movements. As a matter of fact, the last phase of developments may be described as *the phase of census-battles* against evils of female infanticides. Mr. A. Malet, Political Agent, Lt. Col. W. Lang, Capt. J. T. Barr, Lt. Col. H. W. Trevelyan and lastly Mr. J. P. Willoughby guided the anti-infanticide movements in its closing phase to wrench the final victory over the atrocious practice of the *Jharejas*, *Jetwas* and *Soomras* of Kattywar by the end of 1855. This victory was, of course, essential for the Britishers only to ensure their suzerainty over the Peninsula of Western India.

To begin with the sequences of developments that were effected in the concluding decade in question attention is drawn at the outset to a document-letter written by Mr. E. H. Townsend, Secretary to Bombay Government on 20 June, 1845 to Mr. A. Malet. From this official record it is learnt that the present Political Agent submitted meanwhile the statements on the populations of *Jhareja*, *Jetwa* and *Soomra* of Kattywar of 1843 in his communication of 30 August, 1844. Mr. Townsend made observations on these statements in this effect that the total *Jhareja* males amounted in 1842 to 6166, and in 1843 to 6176 souls, being *an increase of 10 males only*. It further appears that the total number of females at the end of the year 1842 was 1454, and in 1843 the same was 1959, being *an increase* (during twelve months) *of 105 females*. Townsend remarked, 'the increase in the number of females being thus shown to be in a much greater proportion than that of the males, is a highly satisfactory result.' Thus, it is interesting to note that while in 1842 the number of males per 100 females was 332.6, in 1843 the same

came down to 315.3. Excess of males was distinctly declining to register cumulative beneficial effect of preservation of more female children in the Jhareja families concerned. To analyse the demographic phenomenon in question it may be pointed out alternatively that *while in 1842 the females accounted for 23 per cent of total Jhareja population, in 1843 they happened to explain 24 per cent of the same population.* Percentage-rise of female population was though little, it connoted, indeed, a significant turning-point in social life of the Jharejas.

Secondly, among the Jetwas of Porebunder and Nowanugger the males amounted in all to 154 souls and *there was no change in this number in 1843.* Total females was 52 in 1842 and *only one female* was added to this total in the next year. Sex-ratio (number of males per 100 females) turned out to be 296.1 in 1842 and the same remained stationary with addition of only one female to total population of 1842.

Thirdly, the male Soomra population in Nowanugger, Moorve, and Dherol Talooks amounted at the end of 1842 to 360 souls and in 1843 to 364 souls, being a meagre increase of 4 males. On the otherhand, total number of females was 147 in 1842 and 157 in 1843. Soomra sex-ratio was, thus, 244.9 in 1842 and 231.8 in 1843. Betterment in sex-disparity was noticed within twelve months among the Soomras who were thought notorious for female infanticide. Their misdeeds were, of course, much later unearthed by British administrators with close operation with the official censor engaged by them in Kattywar.

The above demographic results confirm that the great disparity in sex-ratio amongst the infanticide-practising inhabitants of Gujarat still persisted to underline bad legacy of immediate past. Sex-parity amongst the newly-born Jhareja children that was clearly demonstrated by Mr. Willoughby on the merit of Jacob's census data (1841) could yet to be registered for the Jhareja community as a whole and eventually, need for greater vigilance on and stricter scrutiny of secret commissions of infanticide was absolute to prevent at a time chances of fresh commissions and relapsed cases. Regular and accurate counting of every individual—old and new—from Jhareja, Jetwa, or Soomra society was imperative to test efficacy of Government measures so far executed in Kattywar Talooks. On the other hand, proper use of Infanticide Fund was equally important in this context to mitigate the social suffer-

ings of the indigent Jharejas and other Rajpoots. Mr. Malet submitted a report to show that total disbursements from the Infanticide Fund during 1843 on account of *marriage donations* and the maintenance of the Infanticide Establishment amounted to Company's Rs. 3,657-1-3 and the balance of the Fund on 31st December, 1843 showed to Company's Rs. 1,21,011-9-11. This means that Willoughby's sumptuary measures were still in operation, though coercive measures decreased in severity due to improved demographic condition amongst the infants, children and youngs of the Rajpoot society in question. *Fresh cases of infanticide were no more reported in official records* since Mr. Erskine and Capt. Jacob.

Again, Mr. J. P. Willoughby showed his unfailing interest in the problem of Infanticide while analysing salient features of Malet's census-returns submitted together with his annual report for 1844. Malet's annual report originated on 10 August, 1845 and the same offered many interesting data to reveal the changing demographic set-up among the people like Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras. As Chief Secretary to the Government, Willoughby came out with his brilliant observations on the contemporary situation of Kattywar in his letter of 19 January, 1846 to Mr. Malet. At the very outset he furnished a comparative statement to pinpoint the trend of growth of Jhareja, Jetwa and Soomra populations for 1842, 1843 and 1844 and this he did on the merit of Malet's report on their population strength. The following is the summary of the population-figures in question for the specific years between 1842 and 1844. From these figures it is evident

Caste people	males			females			sex- ratio	(males per 100 females)	
	1842	1843	1844	1842	1843	1844		1842	1843
1. Jhareja	6129	6176	6430	1841	1959	2175	332.9	315.7	295.6
2. Jetwa	153	153	154	52	53	57	294.2	288.7	270.2
3. Soomra	351	364	372	141	157	164	248.9	231.8	226.8

that in each instance the *increase in the number of females, especially among the Jharejas, had during the years in question been comparatively greater than the males*. Sex-disparities were noticeably declining and the phenomenon was particularly sharp in

the case of the Jharejas who were contingently been subjected to strongest most surveillances and interferences since the time of Col. Alexander Walker.

In the background of the above situation it would be extremely interesting to read the proportion of males to females of 10 years of age to 1 year and under, amongst the said three infanticide-practising Rajpoot groups. These data testify to the real bases of profound achievements, since the same referred to that particular segment of Rajpoot female population which was preserved in recent years to null the destructive effect of the custom of infanticide. The following is the account of the population in question.

Caste people	sex	age of population (under)				
		10 yrs.	9 yrs.	8 yrs.	7 yrs.	6 yrs.
1. Jhareja	male	1711	1532	1313	1167	1035
	female	1207	1179	1188	1029	887
2. Jetwa	male	25	22	25	15	18
	female	0	0	25	25	16
3. Soomra	male	102	107	99	90	77
	female	67	82	58	70	60

sex		5 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	all ages
1. male		903	891	703	400	274	9929
	female	877	755	620	451	232	8425
2. male		10	5	12	3	2	137
	female	15	0	14	6	2	103
3. male		69	53	39	29	9	674
	female	50	41	37	22	6	493

It turns out at once from these figures that the number of Jhareja males per 100 Jhareja females falling under age-levels 10 to 1 year was 117.8 and among the Jetwas and Soomras the same was 133.0 and 136.7 respectively. Balance in sex-disparity was expressedly becoming imminent among at least Jhareja's rising population in Kattywar, though the Jetwas and Soomras were lagging not much behind the Jharejas to earn much needed sex-parity in their individual population. Regarding the newly-emerging generation of the Jhareja society further interesting features would be clear from the undernoted comparative study

of demographic figures pertaining to Jhareja children having ages 10 years to 1 year and under.

Source of data	Ref.	Popula- tion year (Jhareja)	age of population (under)						
			10 yrs.	9 yrs.	8 yrs.	7 yrs.			
1. Willoughby	1834	male	125	41	96	76			
		female	33	30	34	43			
2. Erskine	1837	male	108	35	97	85			
		female	22	12	28	32			
3. Jacob	1841	male	232	150	225	201			
		female	73	54	65	58			
4. Malet	1844	male	1711	1532	1313	1167			
		female	1207	1179	1188	1029			
sex			6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	all ages
1. male			93	89	118	108	103	130	979
female			36	53	40	35	46	44	394
2. male			105	93	95	125	102	123	968
female			25	12	25	16	32	60	264
3. male			176	165	143	140	122	96	1650
female			56	70	116	111	95	128	826
4. male			1035	903	891	703	400	274	9929
female			887	877	755	620	451	232	8425

The above figures speak for themselves to indicate how the degrees of sex-imbalance within the children-population of the Jharejas were regularly diminishing since 1834, though Willoughby's data were in variant with those of Erskine who explained, of course, in due time causes for such difference as early as 30th June, 1837. It would be found that number of Jhareja males to 100 females was 367 in 1837 while the same decreased very significantly to 200 in 1841. Further decline was registered in 1844 when per 100 Jhareja females there were only 118 males. These demographic developments amongst the emerging new Jhareja generation were, indeed, outstanding to certify relevant official actions against child-killing custom of the Rajpoot group under reference. Similar sequence of population growth for the Jetwas and Soomras cannot be attempted for absence of required data. These people came within the perview of official census-scrutiny very recently and eventually the past history of their

population-composition remained in dark for ever. Nevertheless, what could be established for the Jhareja Rajpoots was instructive enough to learn the improving social situation in Kattywar under British administration.

Mr. Willoughby with his rich experiences did not fail to notice 'extraordinary disproportion between the male and female Jhareja births during the last 10 years' which Malet's census showed in 1844 in contrast to the census of 1834, 1837, and 1841. He wrote to Malet: 'the result of your census leads to the very improbable inference, if the number of males and females shown under each age be correct, that the number of male and female births amongst the Jharejas in Kattywar have, for the last ten years, been annually decreasing from natural causes in the ratio of from ten to twenty percent. For instance, according to your census the number of males of ten years of age in 1844 was 1711, while those of one year and under were only 274, being in the ratio of $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 in favour of the former, and this, too, notwithstanding the generally admitted fact, that, of all children born alive, at least one-third die before attaining the tenth year'. Eventually a careful examination of this 'great and extraordinary disproportion' was demanded by Willoughby to sense the actual state of affair among the Jharejas of Kattywar.

From Malet's another statement it is gathered that the maximum age recorded then amongst the male Jharejas was 86, and of females 53 years; amongst the male Jetwas it was 79 and of females 37 years; and amongst the Soomra males it was 72 and of females 37 years only. Malet submitted the latest account related to Infanticide Fund from which during the year of 1844 the total disbursements including *marriage donations* and the maintenance of the Infanticide Establishment amounted to Company's Rupees 2,047-12-4 or Rs. 1,609-4-11 less than the expenditure of the preceeding year. The balance in favour of the Fund on 31st December, 1844 amounted, thus, to Company's Rs. 1,21,809 13-3, or 789-3-4 more than on 31st December, 1843.

In his observations on Malet's report Willoughby pointed out an important issue in stating that 'no progress was yet made towards education on the part of the Chiefs' and accordingly he himself saw 'no probability' of the success of the same. Nevertheless, he desired to induce the principal Chiefs to contribute towards the 'diffusion of education in Kattywar.' Contextually, he was extremely pleased to note that the Jharejas made no

application during 1844 for any aid from the Infanticide Fund. That Willoughby himself should show interest in the 'diffusion of education' in Kattywar was really remarkable in the background of his earlier stand on this issue. Among other superior officers he was singularly conservative to belittle once Mr. Erskine's plan of 'national education' and again, Capt. Jacob's idea of education-campaign against infanticide-custom in the last decade. Now he was found to have regretted for nil progress towards education. It seems that the essay-campaign against female infanticide and its subsequent impact on Government's long-drawn attitude towards the problem could effectively prove its worth as a useful means for effecting radical change without any coercion or intimidation. Mr. Erskine and Capt. Jacob stood enormously vindicated when Mr. Willoughby lent himself to subscribe to their basic ideas of education and its fruitful implementation amongst the illiterate and orthodox Jharejas and other inhabitants of Kathiawar.

Mr. Malet promptly admitted his 'incorrect statement' about demographic situation in Kattywar, as was earlier pointed out by Willoughby. He submitted the corrected table on 25 January, 1846 and explained how the errors crept in and in what manner previous tables were to be correctly read. In one of his fresh tables proportions of the *Jhareja sexes* in Kattywar from under

sex of population	age of population (under)						
	10 yrs.	9 yrs.	8 yrs.	7 yrs.	6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.
males	181 (76.0)	162 (67.0)	146 (56.0)	132 (54.0)	124 (60.0)	85 (43.0)	193 (54.0)
females	57 (24.0)	79 (33.0)	115 (44.0)	112 (46.0)	81 (40.0)	115 (57.0)	167 (46.0)
total	238	241	261	244	205	200	360
percent	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
sex	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	all ages	<i>sex-ratio</i>		
males	217 (54.0)	231 (51.0)	274 (54.0)	1745 (56.0)	127.9		
females	186 (46.0)	220 (49.0)	232 (46.0)	1364 (44.0)			
total	403	451	506	3109			
percent	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)			

10 years to 1 year, as the same stood on 1st January, 1845 were recorded under each one of 30 Talooks of Kattywar. Above a summary of these proportions is given, while the detailed table is appended under no. 1 in reference-notes below.

From the above analysis it is clear that in 1845 sex-disbalance was persisting amongst Jhareja children falling under 10 years in ages and in every 100 female children 128 males dominated in the total population under reference. *The female children falling under age 5 and above 4 years explained interestingly 57 percent of total individuals included in the same age-category.* This was the singular case of *female excess* over the male children. In all other age-levels the males were consistently in higher number. Nevertheless, it was definitely an appreciable event that in 1845 out of total 3109 Jhareja children under reference the females accounted for as good as 44 per cent cases. These demographic features may be better appreciated from a close perusal of the sex-figures given for individual Talook of Kattywar. Gradual accumulation of female children in Jhareja families was unambiguously evident from Malet's latest census.

Besides Jhareja figures Mr. Malet provided also with population figures for Jetwa and Soomra children attaining not more than 10 years in age. Summary of these figures is given below and the original tables are appended.²

tribe	sex of population	age of population (under)			
		10 yrs.	9 yrs.	8 yrs.	7 yrs.
1. Jetwa	males	3	4	4	3
	females	0	0	5	5
2. Soomra	males	6	8	9	13
	females	7	7	6	10

sex	age of population (under)						
	6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	all ages
1. male	3	1	2	8	2	2	32
female	1	5	0	8	4	2	30
2. male	8	11	19	10	20	9	113
female	10	9	7	15	16	8	95

Of the two tribes Jetwas presented more favourable condition in registering a near-balance in sex-ratio. Among them for every 100 female children falling within the age-levels in question 107 male children were enumerated. Though the total population strength of the Jetwas was comparatively lower over only two

Talooks of Poorbunder and Nowanugger, it appeared that the Jetwas were lately more conscious and considerate about their female infants. On the other hand, among the Soomras per 100 female children of given ages 119 males existed in 1845. Here the sex-disparity was slightly more to announce the ill effects of infanticide together with other natural causes for immature deaths. The Soomras were more populous than the Jetwas and they were found scattered over three important Talooks of Nowanugger, Moorvee and Dherol Surufdur. Among both the groups sex-ratio within young children falling under 10 years in age was distinctly in an improved state in comparison to that observed for the Jhareja children of corresponding ages.

Acknowledging Malet's demographic tables containing results of the latest census in Kattywar, 1844, Mr. Willoughby noted his dissatisfaction in his letter of 16 February, 1846, in pointing out that 'the amended returns were still defective for the improbable fluctuations therein shown in the numbers of male and female children at different ages.' Malet's amended data have not been included in this chapter, but the above fact is of importance to note in understanding the limitation of Malet's figures. Willoughby insisted obviously on 'correct returns' of the Jhareja population and this exposes one notable issue that the current system of enumeration was faulty due to the inefficient functioning of the official censor as well as some under- or over-reporting by the Jhareja heads of families concerned. It appears also that official vigilance on the system of enumeration was not serious. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why 'improbable fluctuations' should be repeated within a short interval of twelve months.

No official records for the next six months are available to show the subsequent train of developments after Malet-Willoughby correspondences on the merits and demerits of the census-returns for 1844. As these census-returns were the mirrors to reflect the consequences of social activities pertaining to the infanticide-practice of the Rajpoot people of Kattywar, official records exposing demographic make-up of the people in each census year were some very essential aids both to the Government of Bombay and the Hon. Court of Directors at London in their assessment of administrative measures against evil deeds of child-killing. Census figures were viewed by them as some sure indicators of good effects of their administration through Political Agent of Kattywar. Any deficiency and/or inaccuracy in this vital act of population-count was to a very large extent liable to vitiate the very objective of

the anti-infanticide policy of Government. By this single measure of population-counting Government achieved multiple advantages in establishing (a) direct and regular contacts with Jhareja families irrespective of their individual location in any village of any Talook, (b) positive vigilance and check on age-old propensity for female infanticide, (c) more consolidated administrative control over the feudal Talooks and their Lords, and (d) enormous scope for instituting general welfare and development in a distracted country like Kattywar and Cutch of Western India. Formerly, suppression of female infanticide at any cost was the central task, but now the same became interwoven with several issues (social, political and economic) which were vital to the foreign Administrators of the then Bombay Presidency.

Under the circumstances, Lieutenant Colonel W. Lang's communication of 25 August, 1846 to Mr. A. Malet, officiating Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay helps to throw fresh light on the contemporary situation in Kattywar. Referring to 'usual returns' of the Jhareja, Jetwa, and Soomra population for 1845 he noted that the increase in female children in all these groups continued slowly but fixedly since the introduction of the present system of the suppression of Infanticide in 1835 and in this context Jetwas and Soomras showed encouraging increase in infant population of both sexes, but the Jharejas showed only an addition of 165 female children to 202 males. He did not, of course, miss to admit 'many inaccuracies in returns'. Lang's observations were nothing original, rather he happened to record his remarks on some demographic developments which were already known to many in the Government of Bombay. Yet he had the occasion to bring some additional information of interest. He wrote, 'the proportion of births of both sexes to the number of married Jharejas appears, generally, to be exceedingly small, and in Veerpoor Khureree, and several of the smaller Talookas, there is not a single birth of either a male or female child during the year under review. The number of grown-up Jharejas in Veerpoor Khureree . . . is sixty-five, and . . . 44 of these are married. It is exceedingly improbable, therefore, that a year should have passed without a single child having been born to any of these . . . in this Talooka . . . there must be some concealment of births that actually take place. I have sent for the Chiefs of all the Talookas in which no births of either sex are registered during

last year and shall endeavour to ascertain the true state of the case'.

Incidentally he also informed that no accusation of Infanticide had been referred during the year under review, and *the Censor intimated officially that throughout his tour he heard no mention made of any one having been suspected of the crime of female infanticide.* Thus, it is amply clear that the infanticide-practising Jharejas were now concealing not only the births of females but also of males to take a clever guard against any chance of interpositions. This was definitely a crucial matter to deal with and a complete black-out of the news of new births was highly detrimental to the British actions against female infanticide. And, moreover, it was sensational to learn that no body assisted the Censor with any suspicious cases of infanticide throughout his tour. *Did it mean that the Jharejas as a group eschewed the horrible practice for ever?* But the counts of new births among them revealed a glaring disparity in sexes. Concealment of births of both male and female children, tacit silence on possible commissions of the crime and excess of male over female children falling under age of 1 year showed contradictory facts which were really difficult to reconcile then in the background of the immediate past history of the Jharejas.

Lang informed that during past years only 3 Jharejas required assistance from the Infanticide Fund, for the marriage of their daughters and the same was sanctioned. The balance in the Fund increased from Rs. 1,21,809-13-3 to Rs. 1,25,713-3-10, the expenditure, including the pay of the Infanticide Establishment, and the reward of Rs. 600 paid for the essay against Infanticide custom, having amounted to only Rs. 2,205-9-0.

The said essay was that of Shri *Bhawoo Dajee* who wrote strongly against the evils of female infanticide and Mr. Willoughby desired that a revised and condensed copy of Dajee's essay should be circulated in Kattywar after translating the same in Guzerathee language. But his desire remained unexecuted. Lang was also in favour of Willoughby's desire as the translated version, he believed, would be read with great interest by the Jharejas and other Rajpoots in Kattywar. Accordingly, he proposed that two prizes should again be offered for general competition throughout Bombay Presidency for the two best essays against the custom of Female Infanticide. The essays were to be composed in the Guzerathee language, and in a style sufficiently simple and intelligible to the Rajpoot themselves. These prizes

should be continued from time to time, as treatises on the subject, besides being circulated to the Rajpoots and others who could read throughout the Province, would be very useful as *school books*.

An unfortunate news was added by Lang that it was still not possible 'to induce the Rajpoots of other tribes in giving their daughters in marriage to the Jharejas, to insist beforehand on a stipulation being made for the preservation of the female offspring, the difficulty, doubtless, being to prevail upon all the Chiefs with whom the Jharejas intermarry, to combine in the introduction of a measure of the kind, or to persuade one or two of the most influential of them to originate it, which can scarcely, of course, be expected, unless they can get all the others to join in the agreement'. The given proposal was useful, but execution of the same encompassed many socio-psychological impediments for which the Rajpoots in general were never to be blamed. They were not accustomed to enter such bindings in making matrimonial alliances and naturally much less enthusiasm would be shown by them to introduce such unprecedented practice in their society. For generations together the other Rajpoots of different clans were habituated in giving their daughters and sisters in marriages with the Jharejas irrespective of cruel custom of female infanticide of the latter. Their ancestors and seniors never felt doing any *pre-marriage agreements* with the Jharejas to stop one of their domestic customs, namely female infanticide. Balance of societal relations between intermarrying families was never jeopardised to cause anxiety among them. Under the circumstances, it is clear why the other Rajpoots remained indifferent and if not, ignorant of the new proposal for pre-marriage agreement. Demand for social experiment of this kind was, no doubt, too heavy for the tradition-oriented Rajpoot families of Gujarat.

Meanwhile, Lang continued to write that on principle he wished to continue practice of giving presentations to the Jharejas who had 'in all appearance, if we may judge from the number of female children they have preserved, renounced the practice of Infanticide entirely.' He reported that now two Jharejas had five daughters each, though there were three but one of them lately lost one. Again, nineteen Jharejas were found to possess 4 daughters each, one hundred five Jharejas had individually 3 daughters alive and three hundred eighty seven Jharejas showed 2 daughters each. In the immediate context of this happy situa-

tion Lang recommended, therefore, rewards to those who had 4 and more daughters alive, instead 3 and more. The latter condition was earlier declared eligible for receiving Government's rewards by Mr. Willoughby in September, 1834 and he thought this arrangement was quite encouraging to the Jharejas of that period when barbarous crime of female infanticide was rampant in their society. Now in 1846 over-all demographic situation in Jhareja society had greatly been improved and the intensity of commissions of infanticide was decidedly low. Naturally, it was high time that old British policy of administration should be amended to suit the changing social behaviours of the Jharejas and other infanticide-practising people of the area. Lang made, thus, a timely proposal to grant Rs. 300 as reward to each Jhareja who might have preserved 4 and more daughters. He pointed out that this rate was recommended by Mr. Willoughby long back and this would cause an expenditure of upwards of Rs. 6,000 only out of the substantial Infanticide Fund. He said that if Government desired 'to confer some slight mark of distinction' on the Jharejas having 3 daughters alive a present of clothes for themselves or for their daughters might be given at a moderate expense of Rs. 50 for each. Accordingly, Lang requested his Government to sanction an additional expenditure ranging between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 6000 from 'so flourishing' a fund like the Infanticide Fund.

Next, Lang entered into the most important issue, namely, *progress of education* to explain the results produced so far due to consistent efforts of his predecessors who made, on the other hand, a salutary service to the local inhabitants in establishing a *superior school* at Rajkot. He informed that earlier 'many letters had been written to the different Chiefs both by Mr. Malet and his predecessors, but with little, if any, effect. Mr. Malet spoke himself to His Highness the Jam in November last on the subject and persuaded him to consent to an annual subscription *at the rate of one percent of his tribute.*' Subsequently, Chief of Nowanugger, Jam addressed to other principal Chiefs to follow his footstep in the noble cause of native education. His Highness the Nawab of Joonagur responded most promptly and agreed to subscribe 'at the rate of two percent' of his tribute. The Raja of Drangdra likewise speedily responded to the call. Mr. Malet sent later on many circulars to all the remaining Chiefs and Talookdars in the province to support the noble cause of education in Kattywar. *Many of*

them agreed to pay at the rate of one percent on their respective tribute, the most glaring exception was the Thakoor of Bhownugger. Lang stated, 'it will be observed... that the sum already subscribed is Rs. 4,398-13-1 per annum' and if all the other Chiefs and Talookdars would agree to the same arrangement the amount would swell 'between nine and ten thousand Company's rupees.' It was suggested that Government should ask for two percent from His Highness the Gaekwar through the Resident at Baroda for the improvement of the system of education throughout the province and that, if successful, 'would at once swell the funds available for this purpose to upwards of Rs. 30,000 a year.'

Lang continued to remark, 'with so gratifying a prospect before us, as far as the funds required are concerned, it is desirable that no time should be lost in commencing the erection of a capacious and handsome school house at Rajkot.' An appropriate plan to establish such institution was requested from the Honorable Board and at the sametime Government should procede to select 'fittest man' for the post of head Guzerathee master and other fully qualified Guzerathee teachers for other departments. 'With such ample funds,' noted Lang, 'the establishment of a good English school, under a thoroughly qualified European master, may probably be eventually contemplated by Government.' But Lang was primarily interested to see the introduction of the 'best possible system of vernacular education' throughout the province, and the head school at Rajkot with branch schools at the 'most central places' in different parts of the province. All these measures were envisaged for those who were desirous of securing for their children 'a thorough good vernacular education'. Lang's noble idea was that the pupils from these branch schools would afterwards be sent for higher education to the head school at Rajkot. It is further gathered from his writings that all these branch schools would, of course, be under the entire control of the Headmaster at Rajkot, and it would form an important part of his duty to visit the branch schools as frequently as possible, and to select from each the most able youths for further instruction at Rajkot, provided their parents were willing to send them there, for the greater encouragement to which it might hereafter be advisable to allot a limited number of scholarships to the Rajkot School. As regards an English School, in the present low state of education in Kattywar, many 'might be induced to attend it' for a time to acquire 'a smattering

of English.' Lang was found to be extraordinarily serious to promote the immediate need of spreading vernacular education in Kattywar.

Lang's elaborate scheme relating to spread of education was commendable with particular reference to illiterate and orthodox condition of the feudal society which was then congenial to the breeding of evil practice of female infanticide in Kattywar. His idea of a net work of primary schools under the control of a central school at Rajkot registered his farsightedness in luncheoning those measures which were thought to bring in the long run radical cure of the disease of infanticide. Lang surpassed Mr. Erskine and Capt. Jacob in formulating such well-knit education programme to ameliorate social disabilities of the Jharejas and the other inhabitants of the area, but he was surely no author of any original education plan with long prospect. What his predecessors tried to establish as a better administrative measure against Jhareja's mental well as social inclination for female infanticide, Lang advocated for the same with a more concrete plan suited for the general population of Kattywar. His objective was more extensive than that of Erskine or Jacob who, of course, was basically concerned with the problem of Jhareja's infanticide and its best and radical solution. In 1830's they were certainly not in a position to bother about a system of education for general public. Rather they explored the scope of instituting somesort of education for the infanticide-practising people in particular and to sustain the nucleus of anti-infanticide education for a more organised educational system in future. They had the ill-luck not to receive full and encouraging support from their own Government and their revolutionary ideas were caused to nip into bud. On the otherhand, Lang entered into anti-infanticide activities under a more favourable condition when an elaborate scheme of *general education* could be nourished without feeling enormously concerned for the special problems of child-murder and its originators. Government's attitude was so long engaged critically by the Jharejas and now along with them general welfare of other Rajpoots of the province was becoming quickly a matter of top priority. Apparently Lang's elaborate scheme of education for general public appeared to be somewhat detached from the immediate and urgent task of suppressing evil custom of Female Infanticide, but truly speaking, this scheme was profitably subservient to Government's policy

of administration of the infanticide-practising Rajpoot groups of the nineteenth century in Gujarat.

Apart for his education-scheme Lang rendered an unique service in presenting a new kind of analytical presentation of the census-figures which were collected under his direct control and supervision amongst the Jhareja, Jetwa, and Soomra populations of Kattywar, 1845. He submitted his demographic statements in such manner that the trend of population growth within 1844 and 1845 among the three social groups in question was clearly discernible. He attempted to record population-fluctuations in each Talook and in doing so he arranged the data to record number of persons (both males and females) under some distinct categories, namely, (i) new births in 1845, (ii) new arrivals in 1845, (iii) number of deaths in 1845, (iv) number of emigrated persons during 1845. Taking due cognizance of these attributes he compared the *resultant population* of Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras respectively with their individual grand total that was obtained in previous 1844 census. In this specific style increase or decrease in population of each Talook could be examined to indicate the *actual* trend of population increase among the people under reference. Lang's statements are, no doubt, of immense value in exposing demographic ups and downs which were *engendered by multiple causes* among the Rajpoots of Kattywar. Lt. Col. Lang was the first officer to adopt such systematic and scientific analysis to assess the significance of both census-operations and census-results. He tried honestly to be exhaustive in using relevant factors which were prone to shape the ultimate population size of each one these three Rajpoot groups. His statements showing results of census-returns for 1845 have been inserted below and as these statements³ speak themselves volumes, one needs only to employ a careful perusal of the same to realise the implications of the given quantitative data.

Lang was acknowledged by Mr. A. Malet as the Secretary to the Government in his communication of 26 February, 1847. In this official document he enlisted his observations on Lang's proposals and statements showing census returns for 1845. At the very outset a summary-version of Lang's elaborate statements on census-figures may be noticed in the following fashion, but *sex-ratios* have been computed now and hereafter in appropriate places to pinpoint the issue of increase or decrease

of male dominance over females among the Jharejas and others.

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1842	1843	1844	1845	1842	1843	1844	1845
1. Jhareja	6129	6176	6430	6617	1841	1959	2175	2334
2. Jetwa	153	153	154	157	52	53	57	60
3. Soomra	351	364	372	378	141	157	164	171

	Sex-ratio	(males	per	100	females)
1842	1843			1844	1845
1. 332.9	315.7			295.6	283.5
2. 294.2	288.7			270.2	261.7
3. 248.9	231.8			226.8	221.1

The above table makes it clear that the persistent dominance of males over females was noticeably decreasing in each one of three infanticide-practising groups. But the important issue related to a *balanced sex-ratio* among the groups in question remained still open for necessary minute inspections and deliberations. Nevertheless, these comparative figures were 'very satisfactory' to the Secretary as he saw an increase in the number of females in the three groups. He remarked that among the Jharejas the *proportion of male to female was calculated to be in 1842, as $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, in 1843, as $3\frac{1}{8}$ to 1, in 1844, as 2.11/12 to 1 and in 1845 as $2\frac{7}{8}$ to 1.* These results must be considered as most satisfactory, according to Malet's opinion.

Malet further reported that the essay on Infanticide by Shri Bhow Dajee was now written in a condensed form to be printed shortly for circulation in Kattywar. He added, 'the Governor in Council is not, therefore, disposed at present to do more, but the subject will be considered at a future period'. Thus, Lang's proposal for continuing essay-campaign against the custom of Female Infanticide met no fruitful encouragement from his Government. But, Lang's proposal for amending the ceiling of rewards for those who had preserved a multiple daughters was approved by Government.

Malet wrote that the Government was satisfied to witness Rs. 4,398-13-1 per annum as subscription of the Chiefs of Kattywar towards the establishment of an

educational institution in the province. Contextually Lang was asked to speed up his effort to achieve a yearly revenue of above Rs. 9,000 for this *desirable* object. Lang was intimated that Mr. Andrew, officiating Resident at Baroda had already been instructed to communicate with His Highness the Gaekwar on the proposed education-project and induce him to pay one per cent on all his receipts from Kattywar towards support of the proposed institution. Reference had also meanwhile been made to Board of Education 'to ascertain what assistance it will be able to furnish in the way of books and of qualified teachers for a vernacular school'. Lastly, Lang was requested by Malet to keep subject of education distinct from Infanticide in his future writings.

Relevant Government records show that Capt. Lang submitted his Infanticide Report for Kattywar for 1846 on 30 December, 1847 and the same became an important document to Mr. Willoughby in his assessment of the problem and the people associated with the problem for generations together within a traditional feudal setting. As the member of the Council of Bombay Government he reviewed the Infanticide Report of Lang to emphasise upon several salient points of interest in a Minute drawn on 24 March, 1848. Censuses of Jharejas, Jatwas, and Soomras for 1846, as given by Lang, showed the following numerical strength of males and females among each Rajpoot group in question.

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1843	1844	1845	1846	1843	1844	1845	1846
1. Jhareja	6176	6430	6617	6601	1959	2175	2334	2429
2. Jetwa	153	154	157	160	53	57	60	75
3. Soomra	364	372	378	382	157	164	171	199
Sex-ratio		(males	per	100	females)			
1843		1844		1845		1846		
1.	315.7	295.6		283.5		271.7		
2.	288.7	270.2		261.7		213.3		
3.	231.8	226.8		221.1		191.9		

Willoughby submitted an analysis in different style to note the proportionate percentage of females to males during five years from 1842 to 1846. His mode of analysis shows the following results:—

Year	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
1842	30.00 %	33.3/10%	40.1/10%
1843	31.7/16%	34.3/5 %	43.1/10%
1844	33.4/5 %	37.00 %	44.1/10%
1845	35.3/10%	38.1/5 %	45.1/5 %
1846	36.4/5 %	46.4/5 %	52.1/10%

It was remarked rightly that these results exhibited during each year a 'steady and satisfactory increase in the female proportion' among Jhareja, Jetwa, or Soomra population, and this single fact registered the success of the Government measures adopted 'to root out evils of Infanticide'. Who else other than Mr. Willoughby would be the happiest man to experience such steady improvements in female proportions among the people habituated for long with the horrible custom of child-killing?

Another interesting analysis is available in Willoughby's Minute to learn the varying number of daughters in each family of the Jhareja, Jetwa and Soomra Rajpoots existing in 1846. The numbers were as follows :—

Social group	number of families having					
	1 daughter	2 daughters	3 daughters	4 daughters	5 daughters	6 daughters
1. Jhareja	1172	397	113			1
2. Jetwa	25	16	6	27	2	0
3. Soomra	63	35	11	0	0	0
4. All groups: 1260		448	130	29	7	1

These figures immediately confirmed that in almost one-third of total Jhareja families in question more than one daughter were preserved whereas amongst the Jetwas or the Soomras the families having more than one daughter alive constituted not less than 46 percent of the total families enumerated amongst the respective group. This means that the latter two Rajpoot groups showed relatively more healthier disposition than the Jharejas towards their female children in defeating the harmful dictates of their traditional custom of female infanticide. Psycho-socially the Jetwas and Soomras were becoming relatively more balanced to function as responsible members of their society than the Jharejas by preserving more newlyborn female children. With

reference to the above demographic data it would be of much interest to pay attention to the following *proportion of unmarried and unbetrothed to married females* of these groups at the close of 1846.

Social group	Total no. of females	Married and widowed	Betrothed girls	Unbetrothed girls
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Jhareja	2429 (100.0)	627 (25.8)	298 (12.3)	1504 (61.9)
2. Jetwa	75 (100.0)	16 (21.3)	18 (24.0)	41 (54.7)
3. Soomra	199 (100.0)	58 (29.1)	29 (14.6)	112 (56.3)

The notable proportional increase in the number of female children aged 10 years and less and who were alive at the close of 1846 among the Jharejas, when compared with the proportion of the females of the same ages ascertained to be alive in 1834 was *enormously satisfactory* to Mr. Willoughby and the Council. But, due caution has to be exercised to merit Willoughby's conclusion in the background of Capt. Lang's remark in this effect whether the 1846 census figures could be relied with sufficient satisfaction. Nevertheless, a comparison of the following nature as done by Willoughby, is, indeed, instructive to experience the increasing accumulation of female children in the Jhareja families concerned of Kattywar.

Reference year/sex	age of Jhareja children (under)						
	10 yrs.	9 yrs.	8 yrs.	7 yrs.	6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4 yrs.
1834 males	125	41	96	76	93	89	118
1834 females	33	30	34	43	36	53	40
1846 males	145	131	122	83	188	218	154
1846 females	109	113	84	110	159	177	145

				All ages	Sex-ratio
age of sex	Jhareja	children	(under)		
	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.		
males	108	103	130	979	248.5
females	35	46	44	394	
males	216	318	189	1764	117.4
females	182	253	171	1503	

A number of significant developments may be read from the above comparative demographic figures. First of all, conspicuous disparity in sex-ratio was evident in 1834 when female infanticide was in its severest form among the Jharejas. *For every 100 female infants and children below 10 years in age as many as 248 males dominated. But this alarming situation was brought under well-control by 1846 when for every 100 female infants and children of the same age-group only 117 males were existing.* A near-balance in sex-ratio was in view. This was no mean achievement for the foreign administrators who were determined to root out the barbarous practice once for all. Secondly, in 1834 all the females children of the age-levels in question explained *only 29 percent of the total population* falling within the given ages. But in 1846 it was extremely gratifying to observe that of the total population falling under the same ages in question *the female infants and children constituted as high as 64 percent.* Thus, *within 12 years the proportion of female children under 10 years in age registered a rise of 35 per cent.*

Examining the above outstanding proportional change in sex-composition of Jhareja children Willoughby remarked significantly that 'as compared with the returns for former years, the errors in the census for the year 1846, if any, are I am inclined to believe, but trifling : as far, therefore, as the results above shown can be relied on, the number of male children from 10 years of age and under amounted in 1834 to 979, and the female to 394. At the close of the year 1846, being an interval of twelve years, the male children between the same ages had increased from 979 to 1764; and the females from 394 to 1503. The female children from the age of ten downwards, bore in 1834 the proportions of about 40 per cent to the male, while in 1846 this percentage had increased to 85.'

From another Minute it is known that the Council consisting of Mr. J. P. Willoughby, Mr. G. Clerk, and Mr. L. R. Reid approved the amount of rewards recommended by Lang for those Jharejas who had preserved their daughters in varying numbers. The balance in favour of the Infanticide Fund at the close of 1845 was Rs. 1,25,713-3-10 and the receipts during 1846 amounted to Rs. 8899-1-3. Assistance offered to Jharejas to meet *the marriage expenses of their daughters* in 1846 amounted to Rs. 1186-6-6 and cost of the presents alluded to was Rs. 1,54,60. Thus, the sum of Rs. 1,17,142-1-2 remained to the credit of the Fund at the close of 1847. It is further

gathered that under instructions issued by Government in April, 1847, *one lakh of the amount deposited in the Infanticide Fund had been invested in the five per cent loan, the interest being applied for educational purposes in Kattywar.* That a large number of copies of the essay on Infanticide lately published in the name of its author Shri Dajee was already sent to Capt. Lang by 20 January, 1848 for distribution throughout Kattywar was also noted in this connection. Mr. Willoughby concluded the text of the Minute by stating that 'we are about to issue a notification inviting the production of further essays on this subject' of female infanticide and this official commitment was a great tribute to Capt. Lang's consistent efforts towards education-campaign against the evils of infanticide-custom.

Next event of importance was the publication of demographic results of 1847 census on the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras by Capt. Lang on 30 December, 1848. He made analytical comments on the latest census data in the following way: 'the Jhareja returns show an *increase* of the male population of 259, with a *decrease* of 16, the former being in 17 Talookas and the latter in 6. The *increase* of females is 352 in 23 Talookas and the *decrease* of 2 in two. The number of males born is 217, and of females 192'. Again, 'the number of *new residents* . . . is so great when compared with those for former years as to excite some doubt whether mistakes may not have been committed in the registry'. In this context, appointment of the second censor from the beginning of 1848 was made public and that some families in most of the Talooks were enumerated for the first time was also notified.

Regarding the Jetwas of 1847 it is known that only 10 males and 8 females were added during the year under review. 'The *increase from newly discovered or newly arrived families of the tribe is likewise very great, adding to the return 75 males and 38 females; but the comparative numbers of two sexes are more in proportion to what we might expect. The net increase of this population of the Rajpoot population of the province is 68 males and 41 females, without any decrease in any of the Talookas in which they reside*', thus, wrote Lang. On the other hand, Soomra tribe showed 14 sons and 10 daughters born, and also 'a large number of new residents', amounting to 44 males and 45 females, and that yielded a net *increase of 37 males in the Nowanugger Talook and Dherol Talook, and a decrease*

of 8 in that of Moorve Talook, with an *increase* of 59 females in all the three Talooks where the Soomras were settled.

About Infanticide Fund it was stated that currently a total receipts of Rs. 2,369-6-2 was registered and this included Rs. 347-3-6 on account of 'anticipated interest on the lakh of rupees invested in the five per cent loan'. A total of Rs. 15,450 was released from the Fund to meet the cost of presents to those who had 3 daughters and more alive and again, for assistance to fourteen Jharejas to defray *the expenses of marrying their daughters* Rs. 1062-5-0 went out from Fund's previous balance. Meeting other essential expenditures the balance remained ultimately to be Rs. 13,572-9-11 in the Infanticide Fund. Capt. Lang also reported that *no accusations of Infanticide crime was filed during 1848* and none of the official censors during his extensive tour heard of any cases being suspected. This simple information was to a great extent vital to Government in general and Mr. Willoughby in particular especially in the background of the history of strong inquisitions against the Jharejas in 1830's.

Mr. Malet, Chief Secretary to Government sent a despatch to Major Lang, Political Agent in Kattywar on 2 March, 1848 incorporating his views on the results obtained from 1847 census in Kattywar. As before, a comparative study was made to see the trend in the growth of female population among Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras and the following arrangement of the relevant demographic data is made to expose the real state of development.

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1844	1845	1846	1847	1844	1845	1846	1847
1. Jhareja	6430	6617	6601	6844	2175	2334	2429	2779
2. Jetwa	154	160	160	237	57	60	75	116
3. Soomra	372	382	382	411	164	171	199	248

Sex-ratio		(males	per	100	females)
1844	1845			1846	1847
1. 295.6	283.5			271.7	246.3
2. 270.2	261.7			213.3	204.3
3. 226.8	221.1			191.9	165.7

Following the mode of analysis adopted by Mr. Willoughby,

the percentages of females to males at the time of report were computed to offer the following results by Mr. Malet.

Year	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
1843	31.7/16 %	34.3/5 %	43.1/10 %
1844	33.4/5 "	37.00 "	44.1/20 "
1845	35.3/10 "	38.1/5 "	45.1/5 "
1846	36.4/5 "	44.3/8 "	52.1/10 "
1847	40.2/3 "	44.00 "	60.1/4 "

The above results confirm immediately that the proportion of females in each infanticide-practising Rajpoot group in question was steadily improving to demonstrate 'the very beneficial effects that have attended the measures so judiciously and vigorously carried out by the Hon. Willoughby'.

Next, attention is drawn to Major Lang's report on 1848 census⁴ of the Jhareja, Jetwa and Soomra population in Kattywar. This report he submitted on 22 December, 1849 to Mr. Malet. Lang analysed the current demographic data to show a total of 304 Jhareja males and 261 females that were added to last year's total of this Rajpoot group. The Soomras received 25 of each sex as additional souls to their last year's total, where as 11 males and 12 females were newly added to Jetwa population. Total increase of Jhareja males was 460, with a decrease of 48 and of females 332 and 21 respectively. The Soomras showed a total increase of 55 males and 60 females and no decrease of either sex. The Jetwas registered a total increase of 19 males and 17 females with a decrease of 1 female. Lang noted, 'there is still some disproportion in the number of Jhareja daughters'.

He showed that 446 Jhareja males and 202 Jhareja females were 'newly entered' in this year's census and in this respect, 32 Soomra males and 35 Soomra females at one hand, and 16 Jetwa males and 10 Jetwa females on the other were newly entered. It was stated, 'it will be seen, however, that a great many Talookas have been added to the Jhareja returns, which accounts for a good deal of this increased population of that tribe, and the proportion of females to males is not greater than might be expected'. It is further learnt that 159 Jhareja males and 49 Jhareja females left several Talooks during 1849 and similarly among the Jetwas 6 males and 3 females left their

places of habitat. But among the Soomras none was found to have left any Talook. In this connection Lang reported the death of the second official censor and no new recruit in that post was made.

Infanticide Fund Account showed a new deposit of Rs. 17,397-7-3. Disbursements were Rs. 3,875 for *marriage assistance* to twenty Jharejas, Rs. 1,100 for rewards to two Jharejas for preserving 4 daughters each and to ten Jharejas for having 3 daughters each and Rs. 1,580-7-6 on account of Establishment charges. The balance that was left by the end of 1848 was Rs. 10,481-15-9.

Lang noted no fresh accusations of Infanticide except a notice of 'a suspicious case of the birth of twin daughters several years ago to Jhareja *Dajee Wajerajee* of Pilooree village in Moorve Talook and their death immediately afterwards without any report.' As confusion persisted Lang instituted further enquiry into this case on the spot through his assistant Mr. Barr.

On 18 June, 1850 Hon. Mr. Willoughby drew up a Minute in concurrence with Hon. Mr. Blane to record Government's views on recent census in Kattywar and their salient features. They noted that 'during the year of report [1848] the ascertained male and female births bore the following proportions'.

Social group	males	females	male excess	female excess	sex-ratio
1. Jhareja	304	261	43	0	116.5
2. Jetwa	11	12	0	1	91.7
3. Soomra	25	25	0	0	100.0

Three very important issues emerge out from above: (1) among the new births of Jhareja group sex-disparity persisted still but feebly, (2) amongst the Jetwas per 100 new births of female children only 92 male births were reported and *females were in excess*, and (3) the Soomras registered a clean sex-balance amongst their new-born babies. In the wider perspective of continued anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar since 1805 these quantitative data were immensely significant to those who were at the helm of administration of the native Rajpoot peoples of Gujarat.

The undernoted demographic results were, of course, a matter of great satisfaction to Mr. Willoughby who witnessed the steady

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1845	1846	1847	1848	1845	1846	1847	1848
1. Jhareja	6617	6601	6844	7256	2334	2429	2799	3090
2. Jetwa	157	160	237	256	60	75	116	132
3. Soomra	378	382	411	466	171	199	248	308
Sex-ratio		(males	per	100	females)			
1845		1846		1847		1848		
1.	283.5	271.7		246.3		234.8		
2.	261.7	213.3		204.3		193.9		
3.	221.7	191.9		165.7		151.3		

progress in the number of Rajpoot females of Kattywar in question. Sex-disparities were noticeably declining in each one of three Rajpoot groups over the given years. In this context the proportionate percentage of females to males may be shown, as follows, in line with Mr. Willoughby, for 1846, 1847 and 1848. The figures speak for themselves to pin-

Year	Jhareja	Jetwa	Soomra
1846	36.4/5 %	44.3/8 %	52.1/10%
1847	40.2/3 %	44.00 %	60.1/4 %
1848	42.4/7 %	51.1/6 %	66.4/10%

point progressive concentrations of females in the total population of these Rajpoot groups who were on the other day notorious to destroy their female infants right after birth. There can be no doubt to acclaim the positive results generated by each and every anti-infanticide measure—coercive, sumptuary, and educative—of British Government. Steady but regular declines in male excess were the most assuring proof of a new mental and social attitude that the Rajpoots in question were forced to build up since 1834, if not earlier. Census-returns of successive years particularly since 1842 yielded demographic phenomenon of utmost significance, but genesis of such phenomenon can never be appreciated well without the context of some basic social-psychological changes which should have by then begun in the age old societal structures of the Jharejas, Jetwas or Soomras. These changes are not amenable to any quantification and as such qualitative infor-

mation deducible from any census data has to be doubly appreciated to understand the implication of the changes in sex-ratios in conjunction with emerging changes in social values related to parent-child relationships within each family unit. And this central socio-psychological issue should not be allowed to be lost in the heaps of statistical figures for males and females of the Rajpoot groups under review.

The usual census of the Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras of Kattywar for 1849 was submitted by Major Lang to Mr. Malet on 31 December, 1850. Salient features of the census were: (a) the Jharejas showed *a total of 288 males and 278 females born during the year*, with an increase of 108 males in twenty-five Talooks and a decrease of 10 in four Talooks; and an *increase of 157 females in seventeen Talooks* and a decrease of 12 in seven. There were twelve Talooks in which neither increase nor decrease in male population was recorded and in another twelve Talooks the female population was the same as in the preceding year. There were fourteen out of 41 Talooks included for Jhareja census in which no male children was born during the year, sixteen Talooks yielded no female births and in ten Talooks no children of either sex was born. These 41 Talooks included thirteen districts which had some Jhareja families residing in them, besides the twentyeight Jhareja Talooks which were *first entered* in the census; (b) the Soomra Census showed *a total of 16 males and 18 female children born during the year*, with no increase in the male population of any one of the three Talooks included in the returns, but decrease of 4 males in the Dherol Talook, again, an increase of 3 females in the Nowanugger and Dherol Talooks, and decrease of the same number in that of Moorve. There had been births of both sexes in all 3 Talooks; (c) the Jetwa census showed *a total 4 male and 5 female children born during the year*, with no increase in the male population, but a decrease of 5 in the Poorbunder and Dherol Talooks and an increase of 9 in the female population of the three Talooks of Nowanugger, Poorbunder, and Dherol, without any decrease in any one Talook. There had been births of daughters in all 3 Talooks and sons in all except Dherol.

Additionally it is learnt that the number of Jhareja males *newly entered* in these returns was 44 and of females 22, and the numbers shown as having left the seven Talooks were 99 males and 43 females; among the males there had been 136

deaths and among the females 110. The Soomra males and females *newly* entered in the returns for this group were 1 and 2 respectively; and those who had left the several Talooks, 11 were of the former and 12 of the latter sex. Ten Soorma males died against 8 females' deaths. In the Jetwa returns 1 male and 5 females were *newly* entered, and 4 of the males but none of the females of older population left the several Talooks, and 6 males and 1 female died among the Jetwas.

Lang made further analysis to show that total number of the Jhareja male population *above the age of 16* was 4473, that of the births among the Jharejas was 566, that among the Soomras 34, and that among the Jetwas 9. *The births therefore, in the two former groups were about one to every eight males above the age of puberty*, but among the Jetwas this was only *about one to every seventeen grown up males*. The proportion of female children to males in all these groups was then *so nearly equal*, and the progressive increase of the female population appeared so regular, that, if the return could be depended upon in other aspects, these would appear to be good to believe that 'the practice of Infanticide must have become *almost entirely extinct* in the province.'

Contextually, some further interesting data were supplied on a comparative level to outline a significant development amongst the Jharejas, Jetwas, or Soomras. This development was related to the *progressive preservation of more and more daughters* by the Rajpoot families concerned since 1845. Rate of preservation was remarkable in the background of their notorious custom of female infanticide which, according to Major Lang, became 'almost entirely extinct' in the feudal society of Gujarat by mid-nineteenth century. Anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar appeared to have reached a happy conclusion after several most exciting but protracted sojourns between 1805 and 1850.

Number of parents among Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras having more than one daughter in 1845 and in 1849 respectively was shown below.

Major Lang furnished more facts of immediate interest in stating that 'there are still 1215 more male Jharejas than female under 20 years of age, 23 more Soomras, and 16 more Jetwas, but of the number of Jharejas above the age of puberty, amounting to 4473, nearly one-half, or 2201, are shown in the *present returns to have daughters*, there being, in addition to

Rajpoot group	in 1845		Rajpoot group	in 1849	
	number of parents	daughters possessed		number of parents	daughters possessed
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Jhareja	2	5 daughters	1. Jhareja	1	6 daughters
	19	4 "		11	5 "
	105	3 "		49	4 "
	387	2 "		159	3 "
2. Jetwa	4	3 "	2. Jetwa	2	4 "
	13	2 "		11	3 "
				23	2 "
3. Soomra	1	5 "	3. Soomra	6	5 "
	2	4 "		3	4 "
	13	3 "		19	3 "
	30	2 "		54	2 "

those mentioned above, 1459 with one daughter each. In the two other tribes, the results shown in this respect are still more satisfactory, there being, among the 271 Soomras above the age of puberty, 183 with female children, and among the 150 Jetwas 90; 101 of the former tribe, and 54 of the latter, having one daughter each, over and above the number before stated as having two and upwards.' Quite an encouraging state of affair is revealed from Lang's analysis and these facts alone were positive proof of real success of British administration of and surveillance on the practice of child-killing in Kattywar.

Regarding Infanticide Fund's current account it was shown that a total of Rs. 13,940-15-9 accumulated during the year under review and out of this total new receipts accounted for Rs. 3099 only. The necessary disbursements amounted to Rs. 5220 for *marriage donations* to 27 Jharejas to assist them in marrying 33 daughters, Rs. 450 on account of rewards to four Jharejas, Rs. 1423-8-3 for payment and *batta* to the Infanticide establishment, making a total of Rs. 7073-8-3 and a balance of Rs. 6867-7-6 only was left in the Fund.

Lang did not forget to mention that *there was no accusations of Infanticide during the year under review.*

Next he was found to dwell upon an important social issue related to *marriage expenses* and their baneful impact on the Rajpoots concerned. He supplied with some very important historical facts which showed under what circumstances necessary and useful attempts were designed to lessen the injurious

load of marriage expenses and other social disabilities attended upon such sentimentally-oriented behaviour. On this specific social habit preferring extravagant drainage of money and valuable things in daughter's marriage Lang's predecessors extended judicious observations in demanding immediate correction of the habit. And they were unanimous in branding this social habit as one of the most immediate causes for abnormal propensity towards female infanticide. Naturally, Lang's own narration of the incidents and actions taken against this harmful social habit constitutes, no doubts, a very significant revelation at that stage when Infanticide 'must have become almost entirely extinct in this province' of Gujarat. Lang's statement runs as follows :

'When I lately met His Highness the Jam at Balumba, I found him still fully alive to the necessity of making some arrangement for decreasing the heavy expenses attending the marriage of the daughters of Rajpoots in general and the Jharejas in particular. Mr. Ogilvy has kindly got His Highness the Rao to send over three agents on His Highness's part to discuss the subject, several communications, since I last met the Jam, having passed between him and the Rao regarding it. I had also influential Rajpoots with me, belonging to Jhallawar and other parts of the country, all most willing, as far as I could ascertain, to enter into any arrangements which then superior Chiefs might consider practicable. I found the Kutch Agents, however, still in favour of alliances with the Rajpoot families in Rajpootana, and they seemed to think that, by giving daughters not only to the Chiefs themselves, but also to other members of their families, and even to their superior subordinate Chiefs, there would be an ample opening made to dispose of all the daughters of our superior Jhareja Chiefs; and that, in cases where alliances were formed with others than the Chiefs themselves of Rajpootana, the honour and dignity of the Jhareja Chiefs would be sufficiently upheld by getting all other suitors of their daughters' hands to come to their capitals to be married. I remember, however, that this very practice of getting the bridegroom to come to their houses to be married, was one of the principal sources of expense complained of by the Edur Puttawuts and other Rajpoots in that part of the country, who look upon it as degrading to send their daughters to be married, as is universally done in this province'.

Lang continued, 'after sundry consultations, the Jam came one morning with the Kutch Agents and told me that they

were fully satisfied that the *only measure* they could adopt, likely to be generally beneficial, was to introduce the custom of giving their daughters in marriage in the most respectable families from which they now receive their wives; but if they confined themselves, in disposing of their daughters, to this part of the country, it would be necessary that the other Chiefs, to whom they would in that case be obliged to give them, should join them in a general arrangement for the disposal of their daughters also in the families of inferior Chiefs to those with whom they had heretofore been in the habit of forming marriage alliances. The Jam, therefore, proposed that I should speak to the Raja of Drangdra, another Rana of Poorbunder and others on the subject, and both he and Kutch Agents stated that if all would agree to enter into this arrangement, they were fully prepared to do so, and that the opportunity of the Jam's daughter's marriage a few months hence, when influential agents from all the other Rajpoot Talookas would be present at Nowanugger, might be taken for concluding it. I have since spoken to the Raja of Drangdra and the Thakoor of Moorve on the subject, and both appear to be most willing to agree to whatever the Kutch and Nowanugger authorities may require to get this arrangement effected; and I have also ascertained from the Raja, who is the principal Chief to whom both the Rao and the Jam would in this case have to look for alliances for their daughters, that he would not object to concede the points, if required, of having to proceed to Bhooj or Nowanugger on all occasions of marriage with the daughter of their Chiefs, which would, of course, be a highly honourable alliance for his family'. From Lang it is clearly understood that the *Rajpoots—superior or inferior—were lately becoming conscious of the ill-effects of heavy marriage expenses incurred at the time of their individual daughter's marriage and they had developed already a spontaneous apathy towards high sense of group vanity and family pride inter-locked in their closed system of matrimonial alliances. Social and psychological gap which have had in existence within and between different Rajpoot families for generations together in Kattywar and its surrounding territories posed some unsurmountable problems to the Jharejas. Until this gap was honourably bridged up the ominous influence of heavy expenditure in daughter's marriage would continue to cast inordinate sufferings to the people concerned. Under the circumstances, the said move taken by the*

Jam, the Rao and the Raja of Drangdra, three most influential respectabilities of the local Rajpoot society, was definitely full of possibilities. Sociologically it is highly appreciable to witness a beginning of a silent but crucial revolution in the feudal society of the Rajpoots who were on the verge of a *new social system* relating to matrimonial interconnections.

Mr. H. E. Goldsmith, Secretary to Government, communicated with Major Lang on 22nd April, 1851, in reply to latter's letter of 31.12.1850. Lang's census returns for 1849 were acknowledged with pleasure and the following proportions of female to male *children* as found among Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras separately was especially noted to highlight the improved condition of the sex-ratios in the population in question.

Rajpoot group	males	females	excess of male/female
1. Jhareja	288	278	10 males
2. Jetwa	4	5	1 female
3. Soomra	16	18	2 females

As before, a comparison with previous census-results was attempted to show the over-all population growth (positive) among the infanticide-practising Rajpoot groups under reference and the results offered commendable proof of 'the efficacy and suitableness of the measures adopted by the Government in 1834, at the recommendation of the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, then in charge of the Kattywar Agency, for the suppression of the crime of Infanticide'. Comparative demographic figures are as follows :

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1846	1847	1848	1849	1846	1847	1848	1849
1. Jhareja	6601	6844	7256	7353	2429	2799	3090	3237
2. Jetwa	160	237	256	251	75	116	132	141
3. Soomra	382	411	466	462	199	248	308	308

Sex-ratio	(males per 100 females)		1849
	1846	1847	
1.	271.7	246.3	234.8
2.	213.3	204.3	193.9
3.	191.9	165.7	151.3

Following Willoughby's mode of analysis the undernoted percentage growth of females was calculated.

Year	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
1847	40-2/3 %	44.00 %	60-1/4 %
1848	42-4/7 %	51-1/6 %	66-4/10 %
1849	44.00 %	56-1/6 %	66-3/4 %

Major Lang furnished the usual census returns of the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras for the year of 1850 along with a statement on account of the Infanticide Fund till 26 December, 1851. According to his previous practice Lang made some analytical comments on the latest demographic situation in Kattywar. It was known from him that (a) the Jhareja census now showed *a total of 292 male and 267 female children born during the year under review*. There was an increase in the male population by 176 in twenty-two Talooks, with a decrease of 27 in nine; and an increase of 204 in the female population of twenty-five Talooks, with a decrease of 18 in seven. In twelve Talooks there was neither increase nor decrease of the male population, and in ten Talooks the same was the case as regards the number of females. There were also 19 out of 43 Talooks included in the current Jhareja census in which no male children born; 16 Talooks in which there was no female birth; and 14 Talooks in which no children of either sex born. Number of male Jharejas newly entered in the current census operation was 91 and of females 45; males shown as having left were 41, females 23. *Total of Jhareja males in Kattywar was 7520 and of Jhareja females 3423*. Deaths were 193 males and 103 females during the year under review, (b) in the Jetwa census *the number of male and female children born in 1850 was shown as 10 and 4 respectively*. No increase in the male population, but a decrease in two Talooks of 9 was noticed. In Dherol increase of only 1 female and a decrease of 16 females in Nowanugger and Poorbunder highlighted the demographic position of the Jetwas. There was one Jetwa male and one female newly entered, while 12 males and 14 females left the several Talooks in 1850. Number of deaths was 8 males and 6 females. Thus, *the total Jetwa male population turned out to be 242 and female population 126*. It was especially commented by Lang that 'the census of the Jetwa tribe is not so satisfactory as those of the Jharejas and Soomras', on the otherhand,

(c) the Soomra census showed 24 male and 18 female children to have been born during the year of report, with an increase of 31 males and 18 females in three Talooks. Number of Soomra males newly entered was 12, females were 3. None left any of the Talooks in 1850. Number of deaths was 5 males and 3 females. Total of Soomra male population was, thus, 493 against total 326 females over the Talooks.

Infanticide Fund yielded Rs. 14,715-5-11 including the collections for 1850 (Rs. 7847-14-5). Under the heads of expenditure Rs. 5,700 for marriage assistance to 31 Grasiyas in marrying 32 daughters, Rs. 1078-14-11 for pay and batta to the Infanticide establishment were shown. A balance of Rs. 7536-7-0 was left in favour of the fund at the end of the year.

In this connection Major Lang announced an important event by stating that 'every advantage in my power shall be taken of the assemblage of Rajpoots at this marriage to effect the arrangement alluded to in my last annual report, to prevent, for the future, the ruinous expenditure incurred on such occasions'. The marriage referred here by Lang was that of His Highness Jam's daughter to the Maharaja of Jodhpoor and the same social function was scheduled to take place on 12 April, 1852.

Lang's latest annual report was approved by Mr. Mallet in his letter of 11 March, 1852 and this time he declared that his Government was highly pleased to know 'the entire absence of any known act of Infanticide during the year of report'. Keeping the past tradition a summary statement in the following order was presented to show the proportion of female to male children born in the Rajpoot groups in question by the close of 1850 when a fresh census was taken.

Rajpoot group	males	females	Excess of male/female
1. Jhareja	292	267	25 males
2. Jetwa	10	4	6 "
3. Soomra	24	18	6 "

A comparative presentation of total males and females per Rajpoot group in question over the years between 1847 and 1850 and relevant sex-ratios in each year have been placed below to follow the trend of growth of population.

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1847	1848	1849	1850	1847	1848	1849	1850
1. Jhareja	6844	7256	7353	7502	2799	3090	3237	3423
2. Jetwa	237	256	251	242	116	132	141	126
3. Soomra	411	466	462	493	248	308	308	326
Sex-ratio		(males	per	100	females)			
1847		1848		1849		1850		
1.	246.3	234.8		227.2		219.2		
2.	204.3	193.9		178.0		192.1		
3.	165.7	151.3		150.0		151.2		

Steady decrease in sex-disparity was only found amongst the Jhareja families. The Jetwas and Soomras presented a slight deterioration from the position they individually acquired before 1850 in showing such steady decline in male dominance. In this context the Jetwas were singularly conspicuous to register a perceptible rise in male concentration by the close of 1850. No explanation was forwarded by Lang to reconcile this sudden development in favour of male dominance amongst the Jetwas and Soomras who were so long maintaining a remarkable progress towards sex-balance since 1842. No official evidence is available to account for this reversal. The above undesirable happening would be more clear from the following presentation of figures related to proportional percentages of females to males in between 1847 and 1850.

Year	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
1847	40.2/3%	44.00 %	60.1/4 %
1848	42.4/7%	51.1/6 %	66.4/10%
1849	44.00 %	56.1/6 %	66.3/4 %
1850	45.4/7%	52.1/15%	66.1/8 %

Here also a noticable drop in the proportion of Jetwas females to males is obtained. In 1849 the Jetwa females explained slightly more than 56 per cent of total males and in 1850 they accounted for 52 per cent only. Such a demographic development caused, no doubt, a retrogression in the relatively smooth trend of upward growth of the Jetwa females.

On 18th December, 1852 the Political Agent in Kattywar

submitted the usual census returns of the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras of the province for the year of 1851. From the latest report it is learnt that (a) *among the Jharejas 222 males and 216 females were newly born during the year* and by this an increase in the male population by 258 over twenty three Talooks and a decrease of 27 males over nine Talooks were affected. Similarly, an increase of 178 in Jhareja female population in twenty Talooks was noticed against a decrease of 3 females in one Talook. On the other hand, in 11 Talooks male population was the same and in 22 Talooks female population was also the same. Out of 43 Talooks included in the Jhareja census there were 20 in which no male children born, 23 Talooks in which no daughter was reported, and 16 Talooks in which no children of either sex was recorded. Number of Jharejas newly entered in the present census was 213 males and 58 females. 70 males and 31 females were reported to have left several Talooks. Number of deaths was 134 males and 58 females. Thus, the *total male population of the Jharejas in 1851 was 7733 against 3598 females*, (b) the Jetwa census showed 8 *males and 12 female children born during the year of report* and thereby an increase of 4 males in one Talook and a decrease of 5 in the two others were effected. Increase in female population was only 1 in one Talook against a decrease of only 1 in other one Talook. Newly entered Jetwas males and females were 2 and 0 respectively. Number of deaths was 11 males and 2 females. None left any Talook in 1851. Thus, the *total Jetwa male population stood at the figure of 241 against total 126 females*, (c) the Soomra census registered 15 *male and 16 female births during the year under reference* and this caused an increase of 11 males in three Talooks and a decrease of 1 in the other and an increase of 21 females in three Talooks and no decrease any where. Number of newly entered males and females was 8 and 7 respectively. During the year 1851 only 6 males and 2 females were reported to have emmigrated. *Number of deaths was 7 males and no female. Thus, the total Soomra male population came out to be 503 against 347 females.*

It was commented that *'the birth of female children among the Jetwas are still few in proportion to those of males, but the most particular inquiries have been made on the spot by both of the censors, and there is no reason to suspect that this has been otherwise than accidental.'* Nevertheless, it has been added,

attention of His Highness the Jam and the Rana of Poorbunder had been seriously drawn to this demographic situation and in case of Dherol there was no cause of suspicion 'as both the female population and the female births are in excess of the males in that Talook'.

Collections during the year for Infanticide Fund were shown to be Rs. 18,860-11-2 besides 'the lakh of rupees invested in the five per cent loan *on account of education*'. The aggregate turned out to be Rs. 1,26,397-2-2. The disbursements were Rs. 4,560 on account of *marriage assistance* to 27 *Grasias* in marrying 29 daughters, Rs. 1,654-14-9 for pay and *batta* to the Infanticide establishment. Balance left for the year was Rs. 1,19,292-3-5, or exclusive of the lakh invested as the loan, Rs. 19,292-3-5.

No accusations of Infanticide was reported during the year of the report. Neither of the censors had any reason to suspect any case of the crime having been committed among the Jharejas, Jetwas, or Soomras.

In this occasion Lt. Col. Lang made a significant disclosure in this effect that he had received a letter (dated 13 July, 1852) from Mr. Lumsden, Secretary to the Government, accompanying a report on the measures adopted for the prevention of female infanticide in the *Mynpoore district*. He also shed light on the pending question of reduction in marriage expenses incurred by the Rajpoots in general. He wrote, 'I had hoped, at the marriage of the late Jam's daughter, to have got some arrangement made for diminishing the expenses now attending Rajpoot marriages in this provinces, by inducing the most influential *Grasias* to enter into an agreement to marry their daughters into the same families of the same rank, from which they get their wives; but the unfortunate death of the Jam just before the marriage took place prevented anything being done, and when I lately visited his son and successor I found that although professing, and I believe sincerely, his willingness to enter into any arrangement which may be proposed by His Highness the Rao of Kutch regarding Rajpoot marriages for the future, he is unwilling to do anything himself in the matter independent of His Highness the Rao. Major Jacob kindly came over to Nowanugger for a few days when I was there, and as he made himself acquainted with the feelings both of the Rao and the Jam on the subject, I think some good might be done by getting a *deputation* of influential Rajpoots from the different

tribes in Kattywar, commissioned by the principal Chiefs sent over to Bhooj, to discuss the matter with His Highness the Rao, and endeavour to get some arrangement effected regarding their future marriages through Major Jacob. I have heard from that officer that His Highness greatly approves of the Mynpoore measures, as far as he understands them, and there can of course be no question of the great advantage of any measures which will enable the Rajpoots here and in Kutch to reduce the expenditure now incurred at their daughter's marriages, without subjecting themselves to any invidious comparisons or remarks from their fellow Grasias'.

Mr. A. Malet acknowledged Lt. Col. Lang's letter along with the census report for 1851 on 1 February, 1853. In his letter he showed the summary picture of the number of male and female children ascertained to have been born during the year under report as follows :

Rajpoot group	males	females	excess of male/female
1. Jhareja	222	216	6 males
2. Jetwa	8	2	6 "
3. Soomra	15	16	1 female

As before, the comparative picture of Jhareja, Jetwa, and Soomra population (male and female) has been provided below together with the number of males per 100 females over each year falling between 1848 and 1851. This picture outlines the relative growth of each population together with sex-disparity among the Rajpoot groups in question.

Caste people	Males				Females			
	1848	1849	1850	1851	1848	1849	1850	1851
1. Jhareja	7256	7353	7502	7733	3090	3237	3423	3598
2. Jetwa	256	251	242	241	132	141	126	126
3. Soomra	466	462	493	503	308	308	326	347
<i>Sex-ratio</i>	(males per 100 females)							
	1848	1849	1850	1851				
1.	234.8	227.2		219.2			214.9	
2.	193.9	178.0		192.1			191.3	
3.	151.3	150.0		151.2			144.9	

Rs. 1,658-15-7 for pay and *batta* to the Infanticide Establishment. A balance of Rs. 1,08,965-6-10 was left in the Fund at the time of reporting.

(f) Capt. Barr added also that 'the subject of decreasing the expense of Jhareja marriages has been under earnest consideration during the period reported upon'.

In this occasion comparative statements⁵ on the Jhareja, Jetwa, and Soomra populations in Kattywar between the years 1850 and 1852 were furnished by Capt. Barr to have a summary review of the population developments that took place within those social groups exactly by the middle of nineteenth century. These comparative figures are essentially useful to trace particularly the increasing or decreasing nature of female growth *per Talook* among the Rajpoot people who were notorious in destroying female lives just at birth from distant past. The salient features of these comparative census-figures may be read in the following table.

Rajpoot group	Sex	total population in			Total
		1850	1851	1852	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Jhareja	male	7502 (68.7)	7733 (68.4)	7813 (67.9)	23048 (68.3)
	female	3423 (31.3)	3598 (31.6)	3686 (32.1)	10707 (31.7)
	all sexes :	10925 (100.0)	11331 (100.0)	11499 (100.0)	33755 (100.0)
2. Jetwa	male	242 (65.8)	241 (65.6)	244 (63.7)	727 (67.7)
	female	126 (34.2)	126 (34.4)	139 (36.3)	391 (32.3)
	all sexes :	368 (100.0)	367 (100.0)	383 (100.0)	1118 (100.0)
3. Soomra	male	493 (60.2)	503 (59.2)	498 (59.0)	1494 (59.4)
	female	326 (39.8)	347 (40.8)	346 (41.0)	1019 (40.6)
	all sexes :	819 (100.0)	850 (100.0)	844 (100.0)	2513 (100.0)

	Sex-ratio	(males per 100 females)
	1850	1851 1852
1. Jhareja	219.2	214.9 212.0
2. Jetwa	192.1	191.3 175.5
3. Soomra	151.2	144.9 143.9

The above table speaks volume for itself to point out a steady decline in sex-disparity among each one of three Rajpoot groups in question and of them the Jetwas were conspicuous in registering a faster rate of decline especially between 1851 and 1852, whereas the remaining two groups exhibited a slow rate in this specific context. Nevertheless, in each social group dominance of male population was still remarkable.

To read the given demographic figures slightly differently the following analysis has been attempted and in doing so the undernoted proportionate percentage of females to males in each one of three infanticide-practising Rajpoot groups over the years under reference is made known.

Year	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
1850	45.6%	52.1%	66.1%
1851	46.5%	52.3%	69.0%
1852	47.2%	57.0%	69.5%

It should be noted here that the census-figures for 1850, 1851 and 1852 were uniformly collected from 43 Talooks of the province and previous to these years such a wider coverage in census-operations was lacking. Progressive concentration of female individuals within the society of each one of three Rajpoot groups is evident from above and in this respect the Soomras exhibited the best performance.

By the middle of the year of 1854 the Honourable Board of Government comprising Mr. M. Elphinstone, Mr. J. Warden, and Mr. J. W. Lumsden recorded certain significant remarks about the infanticide-practising Rajpoots of Kattywar on the basis of population-figures so far available. An important *resolution* was adopted on 11th May, 1854 and before arriving at this resolution they attempted an appraisal of the social and demographic situation in Kattywar since 1842. At the very outset they pointed out the number of male and female children ascertained to have been born during 1852 among the infanticide-practising people concerned.

Caste	males	females	excess of male/female
1. Jhareja	214	180	34 males
2. Jetwa	3	9	6 females
3. Soomra	4	8	4 females

Then the Hon. Board proceeded to summarise the most significant population developments affecting progressive concentration of the females among each one of three Rajpoot groups since 1842. The total population of the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras in 1852 was contrasted with those which were ascertained for the years 1842 and 1847, and the *annual average* of five years ending separately in 1846 and in 1851 yielded the following results.

Rajpoot group	M A L E S				
	1842	Average of 5 yrs end- ing 1846	1847	Average of 5 yrs end- ing 1851	1852
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Jhareja	6129	6390	6844	7338	7813
2. Jetwa	153	157	237	245	244
3. Soomra	351	349	411	467	498

Rajpoot group	F E M A L E S				
	1842	Average of 5 yrs end- ing 1846	1847	Average of 5 yrs end- ing 1851	1852
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. Jhareja	1841	2147	2779	3225	3686
2. Jetwa	52	59	116	128	139
3. Soomra	141	166	248	307	346

Thus, a conspicuous increase in the female population within 10 years from 1842 was a true fact for each infanticide-practising group in question.

On the other hand, the proportional percentage which the female bore, during the years 1842 to 1852, to the male population of each of these Rajpoot groups was computed as follows.

The members of the Honourable Board were highly pleased to resolve on the merit of the above results that 'a steady progressive diminution of the disproportion in the aggregate number

Years	Jharejas	Jetwas	Soomras
In the year 1842	30-00 %	34-00 %	40-1/6%
Average of the 5 years ending 1846	33-2/3 %	37-9/5%	48-1/8%
In the year 1847	40-2/3 %	44-00 %	60-1/4%
Average of the 5 years ending 1851	43-11/12%	52-1/4%	65-1/3%
In the year 1852	57-1/6 %	57-00 %	69-2/5%

of the two sexes' had been achieved and the fact that 'no grounds exist for supposing that during the year of report any case of infanticide occurred in the province of Kattywar' was highly gratifying.

Even with these satisfactory developments the usual census-check on the population in question did not discontinued and accordingly, it is found that Capt. Barr submitted again the census-return of the Rajpoot groups in question for the year 1853 but the detailed account of the census-figures was not included in the official records of the source book. Nevertheless, Barr was prompt enough to incorporate the main findings of the latest census in his letter of 21 December, 1854, to Mr. H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government of Bombay. The current census showed : (a) *an addition of 264 male and 258 females births in the Jhareja population and the total male Jhareja population was 163 greater in twenty one Talooks and 19 less in seven Talooks. Total female population was, on the other-hand, 171 greater in twenty one Talooks and 8 less in six Talooks. Again, in 15 Talooks male population and in 16 Talooks female population remained the same. Of 43 Talooks included in the Jhareja census, there were 19 in which no male births and in 17 Talooks on female births were reported. In two Talooks children of either sex did not born. Newly entered Jhareja males were 94 against newly entered 43 females, 56 males and 20 females were reported to have left several Talooks. Number of death cases was 158 for males and 118 for females. The total Jhareja male population was 7957 against 3849 females in 1853. In the return for 1852 total male Jharejas and female Jharejas was shown to be 7813 and 3686 respectively and as such the present return exposed that the excess of the males over the females had definitely decreased to affect sex-disparity among them.*

(b) Jetwa census showed 6 male and 11 female infants born during the reporting year. An increase of 3 males in one Talook and a decrease of 2 males in one Talook were shown. On the other hand, an increase of 10 females in two Talooks with a decrease of 1 in another highlighted the existing demographic situation in Jetwa society. Newly entered persons were 1 male and 1 female. None was reported to have left their habitats. Number of deaths was 6 males and 3 females. Thus, the total *Jetwa population was found in 1853 to have constituted 245 males and 148 females in Kattywar*. Under the circumstances, Barr commented that it was gratifying to know from the latest census that the births of female children among the Jetwas were no longer few in proportion to those of males, 'and that suspicious inequality long existing between the numbers of two sexes in the population' was 'rapidly disappearing'.

(c) Soomra census registered 24 new male and 22 new female births and an increase of 23 males in three Talooks and an increase of 16 females in three Talooks were also noted. In one Talook of Rajkot there had been no Soomra birth. Newly entered males and females were 14 and 6 respectively. None left any Talook during the year under review. Number of deaths was 15 males and 12 females. Thus, *the total Soomra population came to be 512 males against 362 females*.

(d) Capt. Barr noted further that *no accusations of Infanticide during the year of report came to him* but 'the Government Attachment Mehta at Mallia brought the existence of the unnatural crime in the *Mohwur* tribe of Meenas to the knowledge of Col. Lang in the present year having supplied intelligence of two suspected cases. . . . The mother, found guilty in one of these cases, was tried on 12th July last before the Political Agent's Court of Criminal Justice for Kattywar, and is now undergoing the sentence of imprisonment which was passed upon her'. Proof was not obtained for the second case. 'The census taken of the *Mohwur* population. . . . showed such a disproportion in the number of females under that of males that it was determined to watch the tribe, the heads of which have now passed a solemn engagement to Government to abstain, in future, from the inhuman practice'. Incidence related to the *Mohwurs* was a startling revelation in the fag end of anti-infanticide movements in Kattywar and Capt. Barr made a congratulatory service in exposing the concealed acts of female infanticide at a crucial time when Government was about to relax strong administrative

surveillance in Kattywar. The Mohwurs were the unfortunate people to come under the full blast of coercive measures which did not pardon even a woman for her guilty. *Imprisonment of a woman on the definite charge of child murder in the name of female infanticide had no parallel in the history of the Jharejas.*

(e) Infanticide Fund Account showed the former balance of Rs. 1,08,965-6-10 while the current receipts amounted to Rs. 6,758-8-4. On the other hand, payment for *marriage expenses* to the Jharejas amounted to Rs. 6,625 and pay and *batta* to the Infanticide establishment was shown to be Rs. 1,698-8-0. Thus, at the close of 1853 the balance left in the Fund remained to be Rs. 1,07,404-7-2.

Government's observations on Capt. Barr's annual report for 1854 were recorded in a resolution drawn by the Honourable Board comprising Mr. M. Elphinstone and Mr. J. G. Lumsden. They summarised the following essential facts from Barr's report.

(i) There had been an *excess of male* over female births among the Jhareja and Soomra tribes in the year 1853 of 6 and 2, being at the rate of two and one-third and nine per cent respectively, while among the Jetwas tribe there was an *excess of 5 females*, being equal to eighty three per cent of the births.

(ii) The approximation in the totals of the female to the male population advanced during the year at the rate of one and one-sixth, one and one-fifth, and three and two-fifths per cent respectively in the Rajpoot groups in question.

(iii) There was nothing in the management of the Infanticide Fund calling for particular remark.

Capt. Barr continued to record census returns of the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras of Kattywar for 1854 along with the census enumeration of the *new group* namely *Mohwur Meena* of the province. As before, the detailed census account was not included in the official records of the *source book*, namely, Selection of the Records of the Bombay Government (No. 39-40) of 1856. From Barr's letter of 23 August, 1855 to Mr. H. L. Anderson the following information is available to read the demographic situation of Kathiawar.

(a) Jhareja census showed that 266 males and 208 females were born during the year under review. *Newly entered males and females were 206 and 84. Those who left several Talooks consisted of 95 males and 34 females. Number of deaths was 190 males and 108 females. It was remarked that 'the number of female births during the year of report is 50 below that*

was recorded for the previous year, whilst that of male births is two in excess. The disproportion in favour of males over females in the Jhareja population at the close of 1854 is *slightly greater* over females than before'. But, according to Capt. Barr, this development was for 'natural causes'. *Total Jhareja population consisted of 8,144 males and 3,999 females.*

(b) Jetwa census showed that 9 male and 13 female infants were born in 1854. Newly entered males were 9 against no females. No case of emmigration was available. Number of deaths was 2 males and 6 females. Thus, *total Jetwa population came to 253 males and 155 females.*

(c) Soomra census showed 23 male and 14 female new births. Newly entered male was only 1 and no female. Number of deaths 8 males and 12 females. *Total Soomra population was thus recorded to be 529 males and 360 females,* leaving aside 8 males and 12 females who were reported to have left several Talooks.

(d) The census of the Mohwur Meena population was only mentioned but no analysis was made.

(e) *No case of Infanticide during the year was reported.*

(f) Capt. Barr proposed to introduce at this stage 'register of infant deaths' in addition to enumeration of male and female births during each year. The register was also intended to include without distinction all deaths of adults, of children, and of infants. Necessary statistics for drawing a comparison between the numbers of male and female babies who would survive beyond their first year was also urged by him.

(g) Capt. Barr narrated his experiences about the general meeting of Rajpoot Chiefs who discussed the vital social question of reduction of marriage expenses in their society. It was stated that in September last a meeting of Rajpoot Chiefs and KARBAREES of this province, and a deputation from Kutch, accompanied by Mr. Raikes, assembled at Rajkot, to discuss *measures for the reduction of marriage expenses,* and to consider the advisability of introducing the practice of giving daughters into families of the same rank and position from which wives were received.

Barr said that *'the result of the meeting was unsatisfactory.* ... Subsequently, however, negotiations have passed between His Highness the Rao of Kutch and His Highness the Jam of Nowanugger, forming the subject of a late correspondence with the Acting Political Agent at Bhooj, the issue of which I regard as highly gratifying. *The Jam, in a letter addressed to me for*

the purpose, had announced his earnest desire to cause a reduction of Rajpoot marriage expenses by every practicable means, and, as the most effectual arrangement to secure this reduction, to recognise the principle of seeking alliances for daughters from families of the same rank from which wives are taken, if His Highness the Rao, his superior Jhareja prince would sanction and countenance the practice. On Colonel Trevelyan communicating the contents of this letter to His Highness the Rao, the latter, without hesitation, promptly signified his decided assent, and, in conversation with Colonel Trevelyan on the subject, went so far as to distinctly avow his intention, when seeking future alliances for his family, to do so near home rather than at a distance.

It was pointed out also that Rao himself declared that he would enjoin both his sons to follow the same course advocated for, for in Kattywar, for instance, where the customs and usages of the people were similar to those of Kutch, besides the saving of expense, much trouble and annoyance would be easily avoided in arranging and concluding marriages, and the experience he had already received in the union of his daughter with the *Edur Maharaja* who, (though a Chief on a very small scale) conceived him of the advantage of keeping within what might be termed as 'the legitimate range of country for the interchange of such marriages.'

Captain Barr informed that 'His Highness the Rao's determination in the matter of marriage alliance has now been communicated to all the principal Rajpoot Chiefs in Kattywar, by whom the reform has consequently been most gratefully and cordially welcomed, thus the first, and what may be regarded as the crowning point in our efforts, has been attained'. He added that minor details to complete arrangements for the reduction of the expenses of marriages amongst Rajpoots, could gradually be achieved. That nuptial expenses were diminishing for some years past except amongst more considerable wealthier Chiefs, and particularly in the family of the Jam of Nowanugger, was especially acknowledged by Barr to indicate an auspicious beginning of a revolutionary social reform amongst the feudal Rajpoots in question.

(h) **Infanticide Fund** showed old balance of Rs. 1,07,404-7-2 and current receipts for the year Rs. 5,256-3-8. On the other hand, payments for marriage expenses for Jharejas amounted to Rs. 5700 in the reporting year, whereas, pay

and *batta* to the Infanticide Establishment explained for Rs. 1613-4-7 in disbursement head. Thus, a balance at the close of 1854 was shown to the fund to be Rs. 1,05,348-6-3.

Subsequent to Capt. Barr's letter of August, 1855 intimating the salient features of the latest census-returns for 1854 the Honourable Board of the Government, Bombay, consisting of Mr. M. Elphinstone, Mr. J. G. Lumsden and Mr. A. Malet reviewed critically his annual report in the following language on 4 September, 1855.

(1) Progress of measures for the suppression of Infanticide in the year 1854 has been *not satisfactory*.

(2) Except in the case of the Mohwur Meena, among whom the disproportion between the male and female population appears to have been reduced to the extent of 2.420 per cent, *the relative proportions of the sexes appear almost stationary since the close of the year 1853*, while the excess of male over female Jharejas and Jetwas has only been reduced by 0.066 and 0.644 per cent. In the case of the Soomras the excess has increased to the extent of 1.004 per cent.

(3) Out of every hundred of each sex the deaths of Jhareja males have been 2.254, females 2.617; Soomra males 1.470, females 3.183, Jetwa males 0.784, female 3.726; and Meeana males 2.341, females 3.178. These disproportions until explained by the local authority, leave room for the supposition that *Infanticide in some form is still practiced*.

(4) While among the Jharejas and Soomras the male births exceed those of female in the proportion of 12.236 and 24.322 per cent, it is some satisfaction to find, if the *correctness* of the returns can be depended on, that in the cases of the Jetwas and Meeanas this position is reversed, and the female births exceed those of the males in the proportion of 18.182 and 8.92 per cent respectively.

(5) The proposal to add to these returns a register of deaths of infants born each year, is approved.'

Such a unique and pointed analysis of the demographic realities in Kattywar was first of its kind and this alone showed how deeply Government was still concerned about the varying developments which were taking place in the Jhareja, Jetwa, or Soomra society under the direct impact of almost fifty years' old anti-infanticide movements in the area. Severity and extensiveness of female infanticides was brought under well control, no doubt, but the lingering effect of the harmful social habit

in question was still impairing the quality of population of the infanticide-practising Rajpoots concerned of Gujarat. Penetrating review of the Hon. Board sang, indeed, a sad commentary on the British achievements alluded to. It appears that *complete uprootment* of the abhorrent domestic custom like female infanticide was still to be effected in Kattywar (Gujarat).

For the better appreciation of Capt. Barr's narration of some important events connected with the attempts towards reduction in marriage expenses and subsequent reformatory moves taken laudably by His Highness the Rao of Kutch in this direction within the larger arena of Rajpoot society one may profitably look into certain official records which help to portray the background history of these events. These official records contain additionally many facts of utmost importance. A systematic analysis of these facts has been attempted below to link the above master-views of the Honourable Board on the objective situation prevailing then, immediately prior to 4th September, 1855, in Rajpoot society of Kattywar (Gujarat).

It is gathered from one of the official records that Capt. Barr happened to bring fresh attention of the Government to the alleged new cases of infanticide amongst the Mohwurs at Mallia as early as 10 February, 1854. These cases were, of course, first noticed by Colonel Lang who ordered investigation into the same on 15 June, 1853. Unfortunately, complete enquiry into the cases which were reported by Government Attachment Mehta stationed at Mallia, to have occurred not long ago among the people under reference, could not be attained by Col. Lang. Subsequently, official responsibility came upon Capt. Barr to deal with the said crime-cases. He furnished to his Government some documents bearing upon one of two suspected cases of female infanticide amongst the Mohwurs. In one case twin daughters were reported to have been put to death and accused persons were duly tried and punished and proper enquiry in another case was then still in progress. One of the said documents related to the case of twin daughters of Bae Nathee, wife of Mohwur Sanganee. This Rajpoot lady (24 yrs.) confessed personally to Nurheshunkur Hureeshunkur, Attachment Mehta at Mallia, on 22 September, 1853 in the presence of five notable witnesses that twin daughters were born to her and she, having 'no wish to preserve them, did not suckle them'. Under such inhuman treatment two female infants could survive only one day and a half and they were buried by her husband. She also

reported that as one of her daughters was suffering from small pox she was inclined not to preserve the baby. But she was prompt enough to add that no opium was administered to the infants and what she did was exclusively according to her 'own wish'. Reference to this interesting case was already made in Capt. Barr's letter of 21.12.1854 to Mr. Anderson and necessary discussion on the point has earlier been noted very briefly to bear out the import of the fact, details of which were further substantiated in another document⁷ prepared on 9 November, 1853. In the second document it is found that *Baee Nathee* attempted to explain her conduct stressing on minor particulars of the situation in which her twin daughters met unfortunate death.

From a statement⁸ recorded from *Baee Hoora*, wife of Raja Manuk, further interesting evidences are obtained to evaluate the prime causes of premature death of her daughter's twin female infants. In this statement 43 years old Hoora pointed out that 'it is unlikely she would knowingly destroy them. *It was in my caste to commit Infanticide*, but from the arrangements made the last twelve months, no one commits the crime. I am not aware who commits it. Would any woman kill her own offspring? All women would not do so..... I did not hear my daughter say that she intended to destroy the infants.....' Such categorical denial of the crime was made by her before Capt. Barr himself on 9 November, 1853 at his camp at Balacheree.

In complete contrast to the above statement of *Baee Nathee* and her mother *Baee Hoora*, a midwife of Mallia named *Baee Hoora* (daughter of Muga Boosana) confined⁹ before the Mallia-Attachment Mehta on 4 May 1853 that *Baee Nathee expressed definitely to her that 'the infants are to be destroyed.'* She also added that as she was a poor widow she was afraid to disclose the truth at the cost of her security amidst the Meenas, though such cases of infant-killing happened not very infrequently in many families. Before Capt. Barr this lady (midwife) disclosed that amongst the *Meenas* this crime was greatly prevalent on account of their daughters' free will to elope with other men; hence the cause of Infanticide originated. Here the explanation for commission of female infanticide was basically of different nature. A social malady effecting abnormal sex-relations happened to be directly responsible for the evil practice. This practice was patronised as a fruitful method

for getting free once for all from social responsibility of illegitimate sex-relation and/or progenies.

The above incidents are mentioned here only to impress upon British Government's honest efforts towards eradication of the crime of child murder which might be enacted under any pretext in any Rajpoot group of Kattywar. Formerly the Government was so extremely preoccupied with the Jharejas that they found obviously very little energy to keep due vigilance on a smaller group like the Mohwur Meenas of Mallia. But as soon as the criminal deeds by this less-known Rajpoot group of Kattywar were unearthed they took in no time strictest measures against the offenders, irrespective of their sex. Willoughby's old instruction was maintained in applying quickly appropriate invistigative methods to ascertain the crime in private. Capt. Barr followed his predecessor's instructions most faithfully in exposing the circumstances of suspicious death of two female infants in Mallia Talook. Evidences as available from the documents just mentioned above show that the Mohwurs were still accustomed with age-old practice of infanticide, but the driving force behind their propensity for infant-destruction just after birth had its nourishment right from within their own society where frequent elopements were rampart to corrupt the normal and healthy sex and/or matrimonial relations. The problem of female infanticide was significantly exposed by Bae Nathee and Bae Hoor of Mallia and accordingly a particular reference to the said Mohwurs of Mallia is made here.

In the context of the evidences related to the case of Bae Nathee and the death of her twin daughter Capt. Barr commented in this line. 'I regret to add that the whole tenor of evidence, supported, as it is, by the *startling* fact which the census discloses, of there being only 24 females in the Mohwur community in Mallia, whilst the number of males is 94, convinces me that the crime must have been prevalent in the tribe'. In this occasion Captain Barr wrote to Mr. Anderson on 23 March, 1854 reporting the case of female infanticide by Mohwur Bae Nathee and at the same time requested his Government to grant Rs. 100 from the Infanticide Fund to the Government Attachment Mehta for his commendable service in unearthing the said concealed misdeed of infanticide by the Mohwurs. In reply to Barr a letter¹⁰ was sent to him by Mr. Anderson as Acting Secretary, on 8 April, 1854, reminding essentially of punishment for each crime and accordingly, Mohwur

female, Bae Nathee could never be pardoned. Mr. Anderson directed that 'this female's trial before the Court of Criminal Justice for Kattywar' must be proceeded with. This order was pronounced in consonance with Mr. Malet, Chief Secretary's observation made on 6 July, 1853.

Further information about Bae Nathee's trial is available from a letter of Capt. Barr which was written on 14 July, 1854 to Mr. Anderson. It is learnt that her trial took place only two days ago and 'Putwaree, the Karbaree of Sacla, and three Chiefs, *one of them a Jhareja*, sat as assessors and the evidence adduced was so clear that they at once found the prisoner guilty; but, on weighing the circumstances elicited, they were of opinion that she had left her newly born twin infants to die from want of nourishment in obedience to the command of her husband, whom they consider to have been the greater culprit, and that she did so when she herself was in a state of bewilderment. They have, therefore, passed the linient sentence of one year's ordinary imprisonment upon her.' Again, Barr noted that 'the Chowuttias of Mallia attended this Court, as did all the Chiefs and Grassias who are at present at Rajkot, and the open trial and condemnation of the woman will have an effect in putting a stop to the crime of which she has been found guilty.' It is gathered further that Capt. Barr was of definite opinion that the Mohwur community was to a very considerable extent in favour of female infanticide and even the census which had lately been taken of them, confirmed the fact. He stated that 'their unwillingness to give daughters in marriage to men of other tribes of Meeanas has been the *cause* of a crime of which they were never suspected till recently'. It seems that this 'unwillingness' was crucially responsible for frequent cases of elopment of the Mohwur girls and women. Realising gravely the ill-fate of Mohwur Bae Nathee the Chowuttias were reported to have before long passed 'a solemn engagement to discontinue the practice.'

Mr. Anderson placed the view of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council on Bae Nathee's case to Capt. Barr on 8 August, 1854. According to this view *the Government was unable 'to accede' any pardon for the guilty woman* and it was strongly pointed out that Infanticide was 'murder' and no enlightened Government could permit 'the perpetrator of murder, if apprehended, to escape without punishment.' It was also instructed that the elder girl of Nathee 'should not be incarcerated

with her mother. A child at the breast may be allowed to remain with the mother in prison, but not children of advanced age'. Again, it was made clear that if the infant girl fell sick she should be treated in the Civil Hospital at Rajkot until her health was restored. This much may suffice to illuminate the dark background of the relatively recent case of female infanticide in Kattywar and also of the undesirable social habit of the Mohwur Meenas of Mallia Talook in clear contravention of all that was effected by British Government to stop the practice of infanticide since 1834, if not earlier.

Prior to Capt. Barr's annual report which was submitted in August, 1855 and subsequently commented upon most significantly by the Honorable Board of Government in September of the same year, several interesting developments took place in Rajpoot society of Kattywar and its neighbouring areas with respect to the basic social issue of *reduction in marriage expenses*. Immediate attention is hereby drawn to the relevant facts available from official records to read the contemporary societal situation and the social behaviour of the Rajpoot Chiefs of superior rank and power. Some brief reference to this issue has already been made in discussing the contents of Capt. Barr's letter of 23 August, 1855, and now a little more detailed account is furnished hereafter.

In one of the said official records it is found¹¹ that on 31 May, 1855 Capt. J. T. Barr communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Trevelyan, Acting Political Agent in Kutch, enclosing the copy of a letter of His Highness the Jam of Nowanugger. In his letter the Jam recorded his anxious mind that was desiring reduction of marriage expenses and announced 'his desire to recognise the principle of giving daughters into the same Rajpoot families' from which wives were usually received in that time. But Jam's intention was conditional to expressed sanction and encouragement of his superior Jhareja prince, His Highness the Rao of Kutch. To this Captain Barr noted, 'I consequently regard the announcement now made by the Jam as an important step towards the object in view, for the great difficulty hitherto in Kattywar has been to persuade him and the other principal Chiefs to consent to forego ambitious alliances and to curtail expenses incurred thereby' In his letter Capt. Barr solicited Lt. Col. Trevelyan's help and cooperation in securing His Highness Rao's ready consent to the Jam's outstanding pledge for making immediate reduction

in marriage expenses. This pledge was evident in the Jam's own letter of 30 May, 1855 to Capt. Barr. From Jam's letter it is learnt very interestingly that '*with all Rajpoots, high and low, it is customary to seek alliances for daughters in families superior to that of the fathers of the brides, Chiefs of rank are thus put to great expense in giving daughters to others who are above them.*' In reply to Capt. Barr's repeated request for instituting the system of matrimonial inter-changes of females between families of *same rank* the Chief of Nowanugger informed that 'the number of daughters amongst inferior Chiefs has increased too much that the ancient practice has for some time past been given up by them, and they are in the constant habit of giving daughters into families from which wives are taken'. This *new mode of marriage-alliances* among the inferior Jharejās was considered by the superior Chief of Nowanugger as 'highly advantageous to us all' and unquestionably he approved the current marriage-system involving less expenses for his inferior Jhareja subordinates in Kattywar. Such significant social development in Jhareja marriage system was essentially the most fundamental contribution that was effected by the long-drawn anti-infanticide movements and measures instituted in this part of India within the first 50 years of the nineteenth century.

On 9 July, 1855 Lt. Col. H. W. Trevelyan disclosed¹² in a letter that 'the sentiments of the former Chief (the Rao), as expressed in his *Yadee*, are very much, in all essential points, in unison with those of the latter (the Jam). He added to inform that the diminution of Rajpoot marriage expenses had been for a length of time in recent past 'a matter of great interest to His Highness the Rao', and much time and attention had already been given to it by him, the result of which was evident from the present satisfactory working of the marriage arrangements in Kutch. The most significant fact was that in seeking alliances for daughters with those families having equal rank and position and particularly with those from which wives were taken, His Highness the Rao expressed his encouraging inclination. More particularly, his own action that was related to the marriage of his daughter to the Raja of Edur who was inferior to Rao in every respect set a bold example to other Jharejas who might emulate his action in like manner. Honesty of purpose was duly translated into concrete action by the superior most respectability of the Jhareja community, namely, His Highness the Rao of Kutch and it was hightime that other Jhareja Chiefs of rank and position should

emulate his brave and revolutionary social behaviour against the orthodox dictates of family tradition, pride and sentiment. The Rao was still willing to unite his daughter (should he had any more) to a personage of equal or of lower rank even than that of the Maharaja of Edur. He was anxious to see all marriage negotiations of future in happier condition.

Among the poorer Jharejas the incidents of marriages in Kutch had already considerably increased with the blessing of financial assistances from the Infanticide Fund and under the circumstances, preservation of female offsprings among these Jharejas caused no social reprehensions or apprehension for suitable marriage-alliances in future. Appreciating such possibility in Jhareja society Lt. Col. Trevelyan remarked that as regard these indigent Jharejas nothing was further required to be done in the way of promoting marriages among them. Most interesting was the changing practice of contracting marriages into families of lower rank by His Highness Rao's own Bhyad (brotherhood) in Kutch. *In this way a easy flow of daughters who were betrothed could be sustained between the Jhareja families concerned, irrespective of their individual social rank, power and wealth.* This new order of matrimonial alliances had its obvious beneficial impact on extravagant expenses in Rajpoot marriages in entire Kattywar.

His Highness the Rao's great interest in the diminution of extravagant expenditure in Rajpoot marriages and also the Jam's genuine intention for reducing early such expenditure through induced marriage relations between families of the same rank would be amply clear from one of his own letters (yad) of 2.8.1855 to Colonel Trevelyan. In his *Yad* two important Jhareja customs that were customarily followed in the families of the Chiefs have been especially noted. One of the customs highlighted family obligation in offering a sum of money to the parents of the girl about to be married by the parents of the bridegroom. Locally this system was termed as *Pudloo-taking* and the other custom was *marrying by Dhola*. *Dhola*-method of marriage meant the sending of the bride to the bridegroom, who usually would not come personally to receive her and this special method of marriage was followed only when the rank of the bridegroom happened to be higher than that of the bride. His Highness the Rao himself objected vehemently to continue these two privileges enjoyed by the families of superior rank in the Jhareja society. Accordingly to him, these customs which were intimately practised in the marriages that were arranged especial-

ly by the Jhareja Chiefs of Kattywar stood in utter contrast to the *Shasters* and the custom of kings, and yet the Kattywar Rajpoot Chiefs did not so far spontaneously raised any valid objections in this matter. In the very context, Capt. Barr's remark may be cited here to show to what extent His Highness the Rao and the Jam engendered lately high hopes in British circle : 'His Highness the Rao of Kutch and the Jam having now no unmarried daughters I believe the present to be a *favourable* opportunity for securing their assent to the principle for the formation of marriage alliance which it is so desirable to introduce; and if the principle be recognised by these two leading Jharejas, the reform aimed at will speedily be effected, in as far as all the considerable Rajpoot Chiefs in this province are concerned'.

Col. Trevelyan in this occasion placed some additional observations on the above situation to Mr. Anderson, Acting Secretary to Government in his another letter dated 9.8.1855. He observed, 'His Highness the Rao is quite alive to the great importance of diminishing the expenses of marriage ceremonies. On that occasion, Maharana Juwarsingjee [of Edur] come himself to Bhooj to marry [the Rao's daughter], and escort his bride to Edur, and no *Pudloo* was exacted from, nor given by the bridegroom....' He further added interestingly that 'both the sister and daughter of the Jam (of Nowanugger) were married by *Proxy* (or *Dhola* or *Khardoo*) to the Jodhpoor Chief, and his eldest son respectively, neither of whom came to Nowanugger to receive their brides and escort them back to the Marwar capital, *Swords of State*, with a deputation being substituted for the presence of the bridegrooms on those occasions'. Revolutionary social development was, thus, effected in the marriage of the daughter of His Highness Rao in contrast to the orthodox but aristocratic mode observed by the superior Jhareja Chief of Nowanugger in marriages of his sister and daughter. These two instances of marriage in the families of two outstanding Jhareja Chiefs of Kattywar and Kutch mirrored glaringly the changing circumstances in Jhareja society.

Heartfelt appreciation of the commendable social actions on the part of His Highness the Rao and the Jam was recorded by the Honourable Board of Bombay Government in a resolution on 15th August, 1855. Mr. J. G. Lumsden and Mr. A. Malet, members of the Board were found to have resolved 'that the expression of the gratification of Government through the respective Political Agent to His Highness the Rao of Kutch

and His Highness the Jam of Nowanugger, on account of the highly favourable declarations which have been made by both these princes on the subject of the *reduction of marriage expenses*. The resolution of each to seek alliances for daughters from families of equal rank and position with those from which sons are sought is highly satisfactory, and the example, will, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council believes, *be productive of the best results.....* They noted further that 'the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, entirely concurs with the Acting Political Agent in considering that, with reference to *Pudloo and marriages by Dhola*, His Highness the Rao must be permitted to hold his own opinions without interference'. In this occasion they asked '*a simple return of authenticated marriages for the last ten years between the daughters of Jharejas and others*'. Unfortunately no official records pertaining to this very important 'return of authenticated marriages' in Jhareja society since 1845 are available from the relevant Government papers.

Very shortly after the adoption of above Government resolution the Honourable Board comprising Mr. M. Elphinstone, Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Malet came out in September, 1855 with their penetrating comments on the over-all demographic improvements lately prevailing among the Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras. And this official record happened to signal the glorious end of British efforts towards abolition of the odious crime of female infanticide from within the orthodox, feudal community of the Rajpoots of Kattywar (Gujarat). To this September resolution detailed reference has already been made to show (i) 'almost stationary' condition in the relative proportions of the sexes among the Mohwur Meenas since the close of the year 1853 and (ii) somewhat satisfactory reduction in the excess of male proportions among the Jharejas and Soomras respectively by the close of the same year. But a disquieting fact was noted in this effect that 'progress of measures for the suppression of Infanticide in the year 1854' had been *unsatisfactory*, although the female births *exceeded* those of the males among the Jetwas and Meenas respectively by the end of the year under report. The *source book* of Bombay Government Selection (No. 39-40) of 1856 was concluded with this official record on the famous September resolution and no further facts are available to keep track with the posterior events connected with anti-Infanticide movements in Kattywar beyond 1855.

Col. A. Walker initiated this movement as early as 1805-6 and

Mr. J. P. Willoughby consolidated and intensified the said movement in 1830's. Official surveillance on the age-old custom of female infanticide that was practiced ritually by the Jhareja Rajpoots in the distracted part of Kattywar even in the first half of the nineteenth century was sustained for long 50 years to arrest once for all the besetting sin of child-murder. Scores of coercive, symptuary and educative measures were systematically and concurrently applied to strike at the very root of the motives which under various cloaks continued to provide with the Jharejas an authoritative vindications for an inhuman practice of killing of female infants just after birth. With many outstanding vicissitudes anti-infanticide movements that were designed and piloted by various military and administrative personnel of the East India Company's Government in India were ultimately successful in causing *a new lease of life* for many unfortunate female children of the Jharejas, Jetwas, and Soomras. The very social and psychological foundation of these native Rajpoot people was found to have so strongly vibrated under the spell of resolute governance and control of foreign rulers that the entire Rajpoot feudal society of Gujarat and Kutch was forced to imbibe several significant changes in the institutions of marriage, family and property. Sociologically it is of utmost importance to learn how with the steady demographic improvements in female population revolutionary consequences prevailed among the Jharejas and others particularly in their inter-familial relationships, matrimonial dispositions, rank psychology and traditional social values. For long 50 years the British Government confronted with the delicate but acrimonious problem of Female Infanticide in Kattywar and in their stupendous actions they were finally rewarded only when His Highness the Rao of Kutch and His Highness the Jam of Nowanugger, two principal social leaders of the Jhareja Rajpoot's society concurred themselves in the concrete to execute diminution in extravagant marriage expenses which originated from feudal vanity of rank superiority in matrimonial affairs between their families and families of their Bhyad (consanguineous association) and the families of inferior Jhareja subordinates of Kattywar and Kutch. They took thereby the lead to root out the most prevailing causes of criminal treatment of female infants in Kattywar (Gujarat).

The present treatise exposes, thus, how a section of the Rajpoot community living in a feudal society in Penninsular Gujarat of Western India behaved stubbornly to upheld the

custom of killing of *new born* females in the name of family pride, rank-consciousness and noble descent. Social-biological consequences of such destructive behaviour have been very elaborately discussed to focus on the nature and degree of *impairments* in the size and quality of the population under examination. From the given facts and records it is amply clear that the very *social structure* of the Jharejas and other infanticide-practising groups of Kathiawar (Kattywar) was basically responsible to give necessary sanction and patronage of this odious custom of age-old standing. Deliberate destruction of female babes just after birth had its due impact on the Rajpoot society at large. It was only when the deliberate destructions could effectively be governed and checked we find gradual accumulation of females among the social groups in question. With the perceptible improvement in the over-all proportions of females, especially of female infants, the extraordinary high *sex-ratio*, particularly among the Jharejas, began to decline steadily but regularly till the near-balance in sex-ratio emerged within the population. On the other hand, the number of marriagable girls shoot up in Rajpoot society in such significant manner that the traditional system of matrimonial arrangements as well as of inter-familial negotiations had to undergo a revolutionary change to suit as early as possible the emerging *new social values* amongst the Jharejas, Jetwas, or Soomras of Gujarat by the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. The prospect of obtaining suitable marriage for any daughter, or of defraying *reasonable* nuptial expenses did not remain in the long run bleak and unattainable to forfeit there and then the life of any female infant. The custom of female infanticide had to meet eventually a natural death to guarantee longer life of daughters of the Jharejas, Jetwas and Soomras at Gujarat. East India Company's Government at Bombay had to struggle hard and bitter to root out the malevolent custom for a long stretch of time. Nevertheless, British Government came out victorious to stop the harmful process of elimination of a substantial portion of Rajpoot population in Gujarat through several coercive, sumptuary and other conciliatory measures. This treatise stands to offer a running history of British administration against the malicious custom and the perpetrators of the 'crime' of child-murder in the Rajpoot society of Gujarat (1800-1855).

1.—Table showing the Proportions of the *Jhareja* Sexes in Kattywar from under 10 years to 1 year, as the same stood on the 1st Jan. 1845

No.	TALOOKS	Under 10 and above 9 yrs.		Under 9 and above 8 yrs.		Under 8 and above 7 yrs.		Under 7 and above 6 yrs.		Under 6 and above 5 yrs.		Under 5 and above 4 yrs.		Under 4 and above 3 yrs.		Under 3 and above 2 yrs.		Under 2 and above 1 yr.		Under 1 yr.	
		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1.	Nowanugger	105	36	92	48	91	54	75	51	75	45	41	67	127	102	133	113	81	71	157	122
2.	Moorvee	5	4	17	7	12	9	7	12	11	7	11	17	15	12	15	11	29	31	23	22
3.	Dherol	15	2	5	4	10	10	14	8	5	6	7	5	14	15	8	3	23	20	17	13
4.	Rajkot	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	4	2	2	3	3	5	5	5	13
5.	Gondul	12	5	13	6	6	12	14	13	9	9	4	5	9	8	18	21	29	28	24	28
6.	Kotra Sanganee	2	...	2	1	3	4	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	2
7.	Veerpoor Khureeree	4	1	1	2	2	1	...	...	2	1	2	...	2	1	2	1	4	7	...	1
8.	Drappa	2	1	3	3	7	2	4	1	2	...	2	1	2	5	11	6	10	12	7	11
9.	Mallia	1	2	2	1	...	3	...	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	2	4	2	2	2	7
10.	Jhallia	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	3	...	2	2	2	3	2	4	2
11.	Khureesra	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	...	...	1	2	2	3	1	2	...	...	3	1
12.	Lodeeka	1	...	...	...	2	2	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	2	4	5	1	1	3
13.	Gowreedur	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	1	3

TABLE 1 (Continued)

No.	Talooks	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
14.	Shapoor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...
15.	Rajpoora	3	1	2	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	3	1	...	2
16.	Mengnee	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	1	2	1	...	4	1	...	2
17.	Bhadwa	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
18.	Satodur Wowree	5	22	3	1	...	3	2	1	2	3	...	...	1	2	...	5	7	8	...	...
19.	Mooleeladeree	4	...	2	...	1	2	2	4	3	...	3	3	3	2	4	4	3	9	...	3
20.	Gutka	1	...	2	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	4	1	...	2
21.	Kotaria	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	1	3	...	...	...
22.	Pal	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
23.	Seesang Chandlee	...	...	3	2	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	3	1	1	4	2	...	3
24.	Kotra Nyajee	3	...	1	...	2	3	...	5	1	...	...	...	1	1	6	...	1	2	...	3
25.	Veerwa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
26.	Mowa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
27.	Kanksiallee	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28.	Wudalee	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29.	Wankaneer	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...
30.	Hulwud Drangdra	...	77	...	4	...	2	3	4	5	5	4	7	2	5	3	3	1	6	6	...
Total :		181	57	162	79	146	115	132	112	124	81	85	115	193	167	217	186	231	220	24	232

m = Males and f = Females

2.—Table showing the Proportions of the *Jetwa Sexes* in Kattywar from under 10 years to 1 year, as the same stood on the 1st Jan. 1845.

No.	TALOOKS	Under 10 and above 9 yrs.		Under 9 and above 8 yrs.		Under 8 and above 7 yrs.		Under 7 and above 6 yrs.		Under 6 and above 5 yrs.		Under 5 and above 4 yrs.		Under 4 and above 3 yrs.		Under 3 and above 2 yrs.		Under 2 and above 1 year		Under 1 year	
		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1.	Poorbunder	3	...	4	...	3	5	3	4	2	1	1	5	...	...	6	6	2	3	1	1
2.	Nowanugger	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	1
Total :		3	...	4	...	4	5	3	5	3	1	1	5	2	...	8	8	2	4	2	2

m = Males and f = Females

2.1—Table showing the Proportions of the *Soomra* Sexes in Kattywar from under 10 years to 1 year, as the same stood on the 1st Jan. 1845

No.	TAKS	Under 10 and above 9 yrs.		Under 9 and above 8 yrs.		Under 8 and above 7 yrs.		Under 7 and above 6 yrs.		Under 6 and above 5 yrs.		Under 5 and above 4 yrs.		Under 4 and above 3 yrs.		Under 3 and above 2 yrs.		Under 2 and above 1 year		Under 1 year	
		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
1. Nowar		5	7	4	6	6	5	7	9	6	6	8	8	18	6	6	9	15	11	...	2
2. Moon		1	...	1	1	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	2	...
3. Dhe		1	...	3	1	2	...	4	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	3	5	3	3	7	6
Tot		6	7	8	7	9	6	13	10	8	10	11	9	19	7	10	15	20	16	9	8

m: Males and f = Females

3. Census of the *Jhareja* Population in Kattywar, for the year 1845.

No.	TALOOKS	M A L E S.												F E M A L E S.											
		A.D. 1845												A.D. 1845											
		Deduct						Balance						Deduct.											
		Total for the year ending 1844	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	Increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1844	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	Increase	Decrease	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	
1	Nowanugger	3645	149	29	3823	61	15	76	2212	1535	3747	102	...	1225	108	12	1345	6	26	8	40	1305	80	...	
2	Moorvee	518	10	10	538	7	9	16	311	211	522	4	...	172	17	5	194	...	8	1	9	185	13	...	
3	Dherol	426	30	23	479	6	5	11	253	215	468	42	...	160	21	12	193	2	2	...	4	189	29	...	
4	Rajkot	67	2	...	69	1	7	8	34	27	61	...	6	31	...	...	31	...	...	3	3	28	...	3
5	Gondul	505	15	2	522	14	6	20	291	211	502	...	3	186	11	...	197	2	1	2	5	192	6	...	
6	Kotra Sanganee	65	3	1	69	1	...	1	41	27	68	3	...	17	3	1	21	...	...	...	...	21	4	...
7	Veerpoor																								
	Khureree	96	...	...	96	...	...	...	65	41	96	...	...	24	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	24	...	...
8	Drappa	181	9	...	190	11	1	12	102	76	178	...	3	54	8	...	62	1	2	1	4	58	4	...	
9	Mallia	61	1	1	63	3	2	5	39	19	58	...	3	29	1	...	30	...	1	...	1	29	...	...

TABLE 3 (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
10	Jhallia	51	1	1	53	2	...	2	33	18	51	...	...	18	...	1	19	...	1	3	4	15	...	3
11	Khunoresra	61	1	...	62	...	...	...	37	25	62	1	...	23	2	...	25	1	...	...	1	24	1	...
12	Lodeoka	45	2	...	47	...	...	...	24	23	47	2	...	12	...	2	14	...	...	...	...	14	2	...
13	Gowreeodur	20	1	3	24	1	...	1	15	8	23	3	...	7	2	1	10	1	1	...	2	8	1	...
14	Shahpooor	22	...	1	23	...	...	...	13	10	23	1	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
15	Rajpooora	44	...	1	45	1	...	1	22	22	44	...	...	9	2	...	11	1	...	...	1	10	1	...
16	Menyamee	29	...	...	29	...	...	...	15	14	29	...	...	12	2	...	14	...	1	...	1	13	1	...
17	Bhadadwa	8	1	...	9	...	...	...	4	5	9	1	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
18	Sataodur	124	3	10	137	3	2	5	86	46	132	8	...	43	8	...	51	...	1	2	3	48	5	...
19	Wlowree																							
19	McGoleeladee	130	3	11	144	...	...	...	93	51	144	14	...	39	3	4	46	...	1	...	1	45	6	...
20	Gadoka	26	2	1	29	...	...	...	14	15	29	3	...	7	...	4	11	...	...	...	...	11	4	...
21	Kotaria	11	2	...	13	1	...	1	4	8	12	1	...	5	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	...	...
22	Pal	14	1	...	15	...	...	...	7	8	15	1	...	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	4	...	...
23	Seesang																							
	Chandlee	77	2	...	79	...	...	...	53	26	79	2	...	26	5	...	31	2	1	...	3	28	2	...
24	Kotra Nyajee	52	2	...	54	...	1	1	30	23	53	1	...	16	2	...	18	...	...	...	...	18	2	...
25	Veerwa	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	1	1	...	...
26	Mowa	9	1	...	10	...	...	...	6	4	10	1	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
27	Kaksialee	8	...	...	8	...	...	...	5	3	8	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
28	Wudalee	8	...	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
29	Wankaneer	8	1	1	10	...	...	...	5	5	10	2	...	10	...	2	12	...	...	...	...	12	2	...
30	Hulwud																							
	Drangdra	117	8	7	132	5	...	5	61	66	127	10	...	34	4	1	39	...	3	...	3	36	2	...
Total :		6430	250	102	6782	117	48	165	3885	2732	6617	202	15	2175	200	45	2420	17	49	20	86	2334	165	6

3.1 Census of the *Jetwa Population* in Kattywar, for the year 1845.

No.	TALOOKS	M A L E S.												F E M A L E S.											
		A.D. 1845												A.D. 1845											
		Deduct						Balance						Deduct.											
		Total for the year ending 1844	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	Increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1844	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	Increase	Decrease	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	
1	Poorbunder	125	2	...	127	2	...	2	85	40	125	...	...	46	3	...	49	...	...	...	...	49	3	...
2	Nowanugger	29	3	...	32	...	...	...	17	15	32	3	...	11	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	11	...	...
Total :		154	5	...	159	2	...	2	102	55	157	3	...	57	3	...	60	...	...	...	...	60	3	...

3.2 Census of the Soomra Population in Kattywar, for the year 1845.

MALES.														FEMALES.										
A.D. 1845														A.D. 1845										
Deduct														Deduct										
Balance																								
TALOOKS	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1844	Born	Newly residing in 1845	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	increase	Decrease		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
1 Nowanugger	128	7	4	247	3	...	3	139	105	244	8	...	108	8	3	119	1	2	...	3	116	8	...	
2 Moorvee	45	...	8	53	11	10	11	28	14	42	...	3	13	2	2	17	...	...	2	2	15	2	...	
3 Dherol	91	3	1	95	3	...	3	54	38	92	1	...	43	2	...	45	...	5	...	5	40	...	3	
Total :	172	10	13	395	7	10	17	221	157	378	9	3	164	12	5	181	1	7	2	10	171	10	3	

4. Census of the *Jhareja* Population in Kattywar, for the year 1848.

No.	TALOOKS	M A L E S.												F E M A L E S.											
		A.D. 1848												A.D. 1848											
		Deduct.						Balance.						Deduct.											
		Total for the year ending 1847	Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	Increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1847	Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	Increase	Decrease	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	
1	Nowanugger	3840	154	35	4029	85	59	144	2430	1455	3885	45	...	1557	116	11	1684	7	34	12	46	1638	81	...	
2	Moorvee	536	30	43	609	24	...	24	347	238	585	49	...	209	30	18	257	7	12	...	19	238	29	...	
3	Dherol	480	28	22	530	8	...	8	297	225	522	42	...	211	27	15	253	5	2	...	7	246	35	...	
4	Rajkot	51	1	...	52	2	...	2	32	18	50	...	1	33	1	...	34	1	...	...	1	33	...	...
5	Gondul	591	32	64	687	31	27	58	381	248	629	38	...	255	27	29	311	4	11	11	26	285	30	...	
6	Kotra Sanganee	69	4	...	73	1	2	3	42	28	70	1	...	26	5	...	31	3	1	1	5	26	9	...	
7	Veerpoor	104	7	21	132	3	7	10	79	43	122	18	...	44	6	6	56	...	1	2	3	53	9	...	
	Khureree																								
8	Drappa	192	5	...	197	4	...	4	109	84	193	1	...	67	11	...	78	1	1	...	2	76	9	...	

TABLE 4 (Continued)

[illegible]

TABLE 4 (Continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
31	Bhownuggur	...	...	143	143	...	...	...	84	59	143	143	...	...	...	61	61	...	...	...	...	61	61	...
32	Wudwan	...	...	10	10	...	...	...	6	4	10	10	...	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	7	7	...
33	Lathee	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	3	5	8	8	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	3	3	...
34	Palitana	...	...	13	13	...	...	...	8	5	13	13	...	...	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	10	10	...
35	Than Luktur	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	3	3	6	6	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
36	Limree	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	4	1	5	5	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
37	Kurol	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	2	2	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38	Keejrioo	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	2	2	4	4	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
39	Burwana	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...	5	5	...
40	Ankeewalia	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	3	1	4	4	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	4	4	...
41	Gudoola	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	3	1	4	4	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	4	4	...
Total :		6844	304	446	7594	179	159	338	4416	2840	7256	460	48	2779	261	202	3242	24	79	49	152	3090	332	21

4.1 Census of the Jetwa Population in Kattywar, for the Year 1848.

No.	TALOOKS	M A L E S.												F E M A L E S.											
		A.D. 1848												A.D. 1848											
		Deduct						Balance						Deduct						Balance					
		Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	Increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1847	Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	Increase	Decrease		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	
1	Poorbura	150	6	...	156	1	...	1	99	56	155	5	...	69	4	...	73	...	3	2	5	68	...	1	
2	Nowara	78	3	16	97	1	6	7	50	40	90	12	...	37	8	10	55	...	...	1	1	54	17	...
3	Dherol	9	2	...	11	...	...	...	6	5	11	2	...	10	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
Total		237	11	16	264	2	6	8	155	101	256	19	...	166	12	10	138	...	3	3	6	132	17	1	

4.2 Census of the *Soomra Population* in Kattywar, for the year 1848.

No.	TALOOKS	M A L E S.												F E M A L E S.											
		A.D. 1848												A.D. 1848											
		Deduct.						Balance.						Deduct											
		Total for the year ending 1847	Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Died	Left the country	Total	Above 16 years of age	Under 16 years of age	Total	Increase	Decrease	Total for the year ending 1847	Born	Newly residing in 1848	Total	Born and died	Died	Left the country	Total	Balance	Increase	Decrease	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	
1	Nowanugger	284	16	29	329	2	...	2	186	141	327	43	...	182	20	30	232	...	...	...	...	232	50	...
2	Moorvee	33	...	...	33	...	...	...	21	12	33	...	...	20	1	...	21	...	...	...	...	21	1	...
3	Dherol	94	9	3	106	...	...	...	61	45	106	12	...	46	4	5	55	...	...	...	...	55	9	...
Total :		411	25	32	468	2	...	2	268	198	466	55	...	248	25	35	308	...	...	...	...	308	60	...

5. Comparative Statement of the Jhareja Population in Kattywar between the years 1850, 1851, and 1852.

FI-19

No.	TALOOKS	MALES.						FEMALES.											
		Under the Age of 20.			Of all Ages.			Married and Widows.			Betrothed.			Unbetrothed.			Total.		
		1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
	Nowanugger	1988	1978	1946	3997	4040	4058	625	653	668	248	272	287	893	897	911	1766	1822	1866
	Moorvee	306	358	379	602	732	751	53	67	78	63	56	53	163	191	188	279	314	319
	Dherol	282	288	306	538	551	569	89	90	95	27	29	27	162	169	168	278	288	290
	Rajkot	30	32	32	58	61	60	7	6	7	2	4	6	22	25	27	31	35	40
	Gondul	339	309	323	641	627	640	87	81	87	33	40	35	195	211	288	315	332	350
	Kotra Sanganee	39	38	35	73	74	73	3	6	8	5	4	2	26	27	27	34	37	37
	Veerpoor Khurere	58	67	65	119	131	130	7	8	9	8	7	7	39	46	45	54	61	61
	Drappa	123	123	117	212	214	211	16	16	18	11	12	9	55	58	63	82	86	90
	Mallia	33	31	31	64	64	64	9	15	13	7	5	5	18	20	19	34	40	37
	Jhallia	24	28	30	47	50	52	7	7	7	2	3	3	14	14	13	24	24	23
	Khureesra	37	40	38	66	72	70	14	14	14	6	5	5	13	14	15	33	33	34
	Lodeeka	27	28	26	49	51	50	1	2	2	...	1	2	16	17	15	18	20	19
	Gowreedur	18	15	15	28	26	26	1	1	1	2	2	2	7	8	10	10	11	10
	Shahpoor	16	15	15	26	25	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	6	6	6	6
	Rajpoora	28	29	27	48	49	48	1	1	1	...	...	2	18	20	18	19	21	21
	Mengnee	23	25	24	26	28	37	7	4	5	...	3	1	9	9	9	16	16	15
	Bhadwa	5	5	4	9	9	9	1	1	1	...	...	...	4	4	4	5	5	5
	Sadodur Woonree	73	70	72	150	150	152	24	24	24	12	12	17	39	39	41	75	75	82
	Moolaladere	53	57	61	106	110	113	8	8	9	5	5	5	46	53	50	59	66	64

TABLE 5 (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
20	Gutka	17	15	17	27	23	25	1	2	2	2	2	2	5	4	4	8	8	8
21	Kotaria	10	10	9	13	14	14	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	5
22	Paal	11	9	8	16	15	16	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
23	Seesang Chandlee	52	55	54	100	99	99	15	15	16	2	2	4	33	38	38	50	55	54
24	Kotra Nyajee	27	27	28	54	53	53	2	2	3	4	4	7	9	9	4	15	15	15
25	Veerwa	11	1	2	3	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	3	3	3	3
26	Mowa	4	4	4	9	9	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	4	3	3	4
27	Kaksialle	5	6	6	9	11	11	2	2	2	...	...	...	3	3	3	5	5	5
28	Wadalee	...	6	7	12	12	13	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	3	5	4	4	5
29	Wankaneer	7	6	4	12	10	8	4	6	7	4	1	1	6	4	4	14	11	12
30	Hulwud Drangdra	82	84	83	142	145	144	8	10	10	11	9	8	24	29	33	43	48	51
31	Bhownuggur	82	91	98	154	166	172	17	21	19	10	15	20	40	36	39	67	72	78
32	Wudwan	5	5	7	12	13	15	3	3	3	...	...	...	4	4	4	7	7	7
33	Lathee	5	5	6	9	10	10	1	1	1	...	...	...	3	3	3	4	4	4
34	Palitana	7	6	5	12	12	9	7	7	6	1	1	2	2	2	...	10	10	8
35	Than Luktur	3	2	2	7	6	5	3	3	...	3	...	2	2	2	1	5	5	5
36	Timree	...	...	1	5	5	6	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	7	7	7
37	Kurol	3	3	3	4	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	2
38	Limbra	2	2	2	4	4	4	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2
39	Ankewalia	2	2	2	4	4	4	2	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	3
40	Gudoola	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	2	2
41	Amreelee	17	20	19	34	36	36	11	11	11	1	5	5	10	6	6	22	22	22
42	Molee	...	4	4	...	7	7	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	5	5
43	Poorbunder	...	1	1	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	2	2
Total:		3844	3901	3919	7502	7733	7813	1044	1101	1140	476	505	525	1903	1992	2021	3423	3598	3686

5.1 Comparative Statement of the *Jetwa* Population in Kattywar, between the Years 1850, 1851, 1852.

No.	TALOOKS	MALES.						FEMALES.											
		Under the Age of 20.			Of all Ages.			Married and Widows.			Betrothed.			Unbetrothed.			Total.		
		1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852	1850	1851	1852
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
1	Poorbunder	67	56	68	144	140	142	22	21	23	6	8	7	30	28	37	58	57	67
2	Nowanugger	47	52	49	89	93	94	20	24	23	15	13	14	21	19	22	56	56	59
3	Dherol	4	3	3	9	8	8	3	3	3	4	6	4	5	4	6	12	13	13
Total:		118	111	120	242	241	244	45	48	49	25	27	25	56	51	65	126	126	139

5.2 Comparative Statement of the *Soomra* Population in Kattywar between the Years 1850, 1851 and 1852.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
1	Nowanugger	194	197	192	355	363	362	108	122	122	24	25	29	117	122	120	249	259	261
2	Moorvee	15	16	15	35	34	33	9	9	9	...	1	1	11	10	10	20	20	20
3	Dherol	51	54	51	103	104	101	24	24	24	5	5	6	28	35	31	57	64	61
4	Rajkot	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	4	4
	Total:	260	268	249	493	503	498	141	146	146	29	31	36	156	170	164	326	347	346

6. The relevant documents showing Government's action against infanticide of twin daughters by some Bae Nathee.

BAEE NATHEE, Wife of MOHWUR SANGANEEA, age about twenty-four years deposes before NURBESHUNKUR HUREESHUNKUR, Attachment Mehta of Mallia.

On interrogation.—Twin daughters were born to me, and I, *having no wish to preserve them*, did not suckle them; they survived one day and a half, and then died, and my husband buried them in the enclosure. My eldest daughter at the time was suffering from the small-pox, and my being unable to take care of her was the cause for my not preserving them. The girls died one hour after each other. When they were born, my mother, and Hoorah the widwife, only were present. In this there is no doubt, and what I have deposed to is correct. I did not administer opium to the infants, nor did I by any other means deprive them of life. I denied them suckle, and as it was not my wish to preserve them, why should I have suckled them? Neither my husband nor any one else advised me (to deprive them of life); I did so of my own wish.

Dated Sumvut 1909, Bhadurwa Vud 5th (Thursday, 22nd September, 1853).

Mallia.

Witness.

CHOWUTTIA BHUTTEE HAJEE.
MOHWUR PURBHUT BHODHA.
MOHWUR BHARA JOOMLA.
JOMA MEPA SOORA.
MEMAN ALI HUSSON.

BAEE NATHEE.
What is written above is true.
at the request of
BAEE NATHEE.

7. The document in question is detailed below :

The above deposition, having this day been read to Bae Nathee in the presence of Captain J. T. Barr, Acting First Assistant Political Agent at Camp Balacheree, she states, —

These twin daughters were born about three hours after sunrise and on the third day, about midday, they died; in the mean time I suckled them twice or thrice, which not being sufficient, they died. *It was anciently the custom in my caste not to preserve daughters*, but at the present time Infanticide is extinct. My third daughter, who is at present with me, is three years old, and as she suffered severely from the small-pox, my time was taken up in attending upon her; I was therefore unable to suckle my other twin daughters; they consequently died. It was not my intention to destroy them, and, if the Attachment Mehta has above stated so, I am not perfectly aware. My surviving daughter I suckled and ten days prior to the birth of my twin daughters I weaned her. I had not sufficient milk at the time, but to pacify her, I permitted her to suckle, but at present she sufficient suckled. At the birth of my twin daughters, my mother and a midwife only were present, and when they died no one else besides my husband who buried the four days old baby in a graveyard, therefore none of my caste people or relations attended. The infants are buried in a *Phullia* or enclosure. At the time of my accouchement my surviving daughter was lying on the same cot with me.

This deposition was given before the Mallia Attachment Mehta.

and to which *Purbhut Mohwur* and *Mepa Jalim* are witnesses; the latter are called into the presence of *Nathee*, when they state that they are witnesses to the deposition given by *Nathee* before the *Jupteedar*, and they call upon her to give a true statement of the case before the *Sirkar*, when she replies that what she has deposed to in presence of the *Jupteedar* is true, and further states,—

It being my wish to preserve my eldest daughter, I suckled her, and not the other infants, when they were born, and consequently they died.

Dated Sumvut 1910, Kartik Shoodh 9th (Wednesday, 9th November, 1853).

The twin daughters were of the full period, nine months.

NATHEE MOHWUR,

Wife of Sanganee.

What is written above is true.

MOHWUR PURBHUT,

MEPA JALIM SOOROO.

What is written above is true.

Witnesses.
ANUNDJEE WULUBJEE.
MEHTA SUNTOOKRAM MADOWJEE.

On further interrogation.— After the twin daughters were born, I placed them on a separate small cot, as my eldest daughter slept on the same cot with me; the cots were placed close together. The twin daughters were on one cot, and I constantly looked after them, but my not having suckled them, they died.

I am the married wife a *Raja Kajeea*, but I deserted him, and live with *Sangun*, and after my husband's death I returned to *Mallia*, twelve months ago; until then I kept wandering about.

The daughter now with me, and the deceased twin daughters, are *Sanguns*. About five years ago *Sangun* eloped with me of my own free will. After the decease of my twin daughters my mother left off visiting my house; she never came when he was present, on account of my elopment with him.

Dated as above

NATHEE.

Wife of Sanganee

Witnesses.
ANUNDJEE WULUBJEE.
SUNTOOKRAM MADOWJEE.

8. BAE HOORA, Wife of *Raja MANUK*, aged about forty years, deposes before the *Mallia Attachment Mehta*, *NURBESHUNKUR HUREESHUNKUR*.

On interrogation.— The wife of *Mohwur Sangun* is my daughter, and at the time of her accouchement the eldest daughter was lying by her side, and suffering severely from the small-pox. At that time *Sangun* came to call me, and I went there, after which my daughter was delivered of twin daughters, and seeing that the eldest daughter was suffering, I immediately returned home. This was at midday; and in the evening I went to inquire after them, and found the new-born infants alive. I did not again go there, but I heard in the town that they died on the third day. This much I know.

On further interrogation.— The children were not suckled; they consequently died. I am not positively aware whether they died on the second or the day after birth. I state what I heard rumoured in the town.

Dated Sumbut 1909, Bhdurwa Vud 2nd (Tuesday, 20th September 1853).

Witnesses.

MOHWUR PURBHUT BHODHA.
MOHWUR NATHA MERAMUN.
BHATEE HAJEE KEEMA.
MOHWUR BHARA MERAMUN.
JOMA MEPA SOORA.

BAEE HOORA

What is above written is true.
Written by MHAO HEERA
DEWJEE, at the request
of the above.

Baee Hoora is called to the presence of Captain J. T. Barr, Acting First Assistant Political Agent, and the above deposition being read over to her, she confirms it.

On interrogation.—I saw the twin daughters when they were born but I did not see them suckled by my daughter. I went first in the morning and after me came the midwife; but when I went again in the evening, the midwife was not present. Nathee's husband, Sangun, was at home both times I went. The third daughter of Nathee suffered severely from small-pox, and the mother, in the anxiety for her, was unable to attend to the twin daughters, from which they died; but, after giving birth, it is unlikely she would knowingly destroy them. *It was customary in my caste to commit Infanticide*, but from the arrangements made the last twelve months, no one commits the crime. I am not aware who commits it. Would any woman kill her own offspring? All women would not do so. Nathee was married to Kajeea Raja, whom she deserted, and lived with Snagun. I consequently never unnecessarily spoke to them, but their eldest daughter having been very ill with the small-pox, I went to see her, but having no wish to remain there, I did not stop to attend upon their eldest daughter. I did not hear my daughter say that she intended to destroy the infants; from her not having suckled them they died.

Sumvut 1910, Kartik Shoodh 9th (Wednesday, 9th November 1853), Camp Balacheree.

On further interrogation.—Sangun eloped with Nathee while Raja Kajeea was alive, and twelve months after his death Sangun returned to Mallia.

The twin daughters were by Sangun. It is now five years since Sungun eloped with Nathee, and they have now returned. I am not aware who informed me of the death of these two infants. I heard that they died on the third day, at midday. I heard so on the day they died. They were of the full time, nine months. Their birth was not premature.

Witnesses.

ANUNDJEE WULUBJEE.
SUNTOOKRAM MADOWJEE.

BAEE HOORA,

Wife of Raja Manuk
What is above written is true.

J. T. BARR,

Assistant Political Agent.

On further interrogation.—Both times I went to see the new-born infants they were on a cot, and the cot was close to Nathee's cot.
Dated as above.

Witnesses.

ANUNDJEE WULUBJEE.
SUNTOOKRAM MADOWJEE.

BAEE HOORA,

What is written above
is true.

9. The statement under reference is reproduced below :

BAEE HOORA, daughter of MUGA BOOSANA, aged about fifty years, inhabitant of Mallia, states before the Mallia Attachment Mehta :—

About one month ago, the wife of Mohwur Sangun Walanee having been labouring in child-birth, I was sent for, and I went, and on examining her found the child was crossways in the womb; but I effected her confinement of twin daughters, and, having put them on a stool, called for water to them, on which the mother said. "*The infants are to be destroyed, therefore do not bathe them.*" I then said never to do such a thing, but if so, to give me one, and that I would suckle and bring it up, and adopt it as my daughter; but she refused, and I left the house and went away. The next day I went to make inquiries, when she told me that *she had destroyed them.* Thus it happened. I am a widow, and a poor woman, and should I openly come forward, it would be difficult for me to live with the Meenas; and such cases happen in many places. In the house of Mohwur Vera's son, *Mala*, about one and a half months ago, and infant daughter met a similar fate. (Statement given on 4.5.1853)

Bace Hoora is this day called into the presence of Captain Barr, Acting First Assistant Political Agent, at Camp Balacheree, and, the above deposition having been read over to her, she states,—That what is written of the infants having been murdered is false, as I did not say that she would destroy them. She told me not to wash them, as she knew what to do with children born to her. So saying, I suspected she would destroy them. *Amongst the Meenas this crime is greatly prevalent, on account of daughters of their own free will eloping with other men; hence the cause of Infanticide.* But since the Government Mehta has come here, all are deterred from committing the crime, and arrangements having been made to prevent the commission of it, it is not now committed.

On interrogation.—I did not see the woman suckle her infants; the small cot was close to the large one. Knowing the custom of the Meenas, I was suspicious that she would destroy her infants; it was therefore I asked her for one of them, when she replied no one would part with her offspring. When the Juptedar sent for me, I then became aware that she had destroyed her infants. I forget who told me so. I was ignorant at first as to whether they died, or whether they were destroyed. Not having, according to the custom of the Meenas, allowed the infants to be bathed, I therefore suspect they may have been destroyed. Having confined her of twin daughters, I left them alive, and went home. All do not commit Infanticide, for I have three daughters. They were of the full period, nine months, and their birth was not premature.

Sumvut 1910, Kartik Shoodh 11th (Friday, 11th November 1853).
HOORA,

Daughter of Muga Boosana.

What is written above is true.

J. T. BARR,

Assistant Political Agent.

Witnesses.
SUNTOOKRAM MADOWJEE.
MOHWUR PURBHUT BHODHA.
JOMA MEPA SOORA.

On interrogation.—Mohwur Sangun was at home at the time of

her confinement. At the time of accouchement no male person comes near the cot, but he (Sungun) was in the house.

Dated as above.

Witnesses.

MOHWUR PURBHUT.

NAM MEPA SOORA

10. Mr. Anderson's reply to Captain Barr on behalf of Government of Bombay.

HOORA,

Daughter of Muga Boosa.

J. T. BARR,

Assistant Political Agent.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

From H. L. ANDERSON, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay,

To Captain J. T. BARR, First Assistant, Pol. Agent in Kattywar, in charge.

Dated 8th April 1854.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with enclosures, dated the 23rd ultimo.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you, that as it is essential to the suppression of the crime of Infanticide that every case clearly established should be followed by punishment, His Lordship in Council does not consider it prudent, even under the circumstances explained by you, to extend pardon to the Mohwur female, Bae Nathee.

3. I have therefore to request that this female's trial before the Court of Criminal Justice for Kattywar, as directed in Mr. Chief Secretary Malet's letter No. 2892, dated the 6th July last, be proceeded with, and to inform you that, in the even of her conviction before that tribunal, any mitigating circumstances can be considered in awarding punishment.

4. I have further to inform you that after this, and the other case now pending, have been fully disposed of, Government will be prepared to consider the proposal of a reward of Rs. 100 to the Attachment Mehta who discovered these cases of Infanticide.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. L. ANDERSON,

Acting Secretary to Government.

Dated Castle, 8th April 1854.
11. One interesting communication from Captain Barr to Lt. Col. Trevelyan of Kutch on Female Infanticide and another noteworthy reply from Chief of Nowannuger on the issue :

(a) From Captain J. T. BARR, Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, To Lieutenant Colonel TREVELYAN, Acting Political Agent in Kutch.

Dated 31st May, 1855.

SIR,—I have much satisfaction in forwarding, for your information, the copy of a letter I have received from His Highness the Jam of Nowanuggur, in which *he declares his anxiety for the reduction of marriage expenses*, and announces his desire to recognise the principle of giving daughters into the same Rajpoot families from which wives are now received provided his superior Jhareja prince, His Highness the Rao of Kutch, will sanction and countenance the practice. His Highness the Jam being the leading Rajpoot Chief in this province, all the others are prepared to follow his example, and will cordially enter into any arrangements which may be considered best calculated for the

attainment of the desire reduction. I consequently regard the announcement now made by the Jam as an important step towards the object in view, for the great difficulty hitherto in Kattywar has been to persuade him and the other principal Chiefs to consent to forego ambitious alliances, and to curtail expenses incurred thereby, the inferior Rajpoot Grasias and landholders having, for some times past, very generally given daughters into families from which they have taken wives, and having been checked in extravagance by the inquiry which is always instituted to ascertain the rank and standing of the contracting parties, as a standard by which the amount of aid from the Infanticide Fund paid to defray the marriage expenses is calculated. If you will, therefore, kindly favour me in return with His Highness the Rao's wishes on this subject, and with suggestions from yourself, my most hearty co-operation is ready in forming, as circumstances may dictate, a general system to complete the reform we in common so earnestly desire to introduce.

I have the honour to be, &c.
J. T. BARR,

Acting Political Agent.

Balacheree, 31st May 1855.

- (6) From JAM SHREE VEEBAJEE, Chief of Nowanugger.
Kattywar Political Agency, Camp

To Captain J. T. BARR, Acting Political Agent.
After compliments.—My reason for writing is as follows:—With all Rajpoots, high and low, it is customary to seek alliances for daughters in families superior to that of the fathers of the brides, and Chiefs of rank are thus put to great expense in giving daughters to others who are above them. Colonel Lang, on the part of Government, has often advised us, for the purpose of avoiding this expense, to give daughters into the same families from which we take wives, and you, after having repeated this advice on several occasions, have asked me to weigh and consider it well. In reply, I have to state that *the number of daughters amongst inferior Chiefs has increased too much that the ancient practice has for some time past been given up by them*, and they are in the constant habit of giving daughters into families from which wives are taken, and *very many of the poorer Grasias dispense with the Pudloo altogether*. Taking the subject under consideration as concerning the superior Chiefs also, I regard the proposed practice as highly advantageous to us all, and approve of it myself; but of us Jharejas the leading one is the Rao Shree, His Highness the Rao of Kutch, besides which, he is my superior prince; therefore, if the Rao Shree will consent to countenance the arrangement, it will at once be introduced, but otherwise no change can be effected by me.

Sumvut 1911, Jesht Shoodh 14th, Boodwar (30th May 1855).

(True copy and translation)
J. T. BARR,

Acting Political Agent.

12. Some documents disclosing Government's stand against the custom of female infanticide in Western India and position of the local Rajpoot people.
(a) From Lieut. Col. H. W. TREVELYAN, Acting Political Agent in Kutch.

To Captain J. T. BARR, Acting Political Agent in Kattywar.

Dated Bhooj, 9th July 1855.

SIR,—I do myself the honour to acquaint you with reference to the *Letter from you, No. 133, dated the 31st May, 1855.* correspondence marginally noted; that since His Highness the *Reply to do., No. 368, of 5th ultimo.* Rao's return to Bhooj from Tera, in the latter end of last month, I have taken an opportunity of discussing the subject of your letter, and the Yadee of His Highness the Jam of Nowanuggur which accompanied it, in regard to the reduction of Rajpoot marriage expenses, and it appears to me that the sentiments of the former Chief, as expressed in his Yadee (copy of which is herewith forwarded), are very much, in all essential points, in unison with those of the latter.

2. The diminution of Rajpoot marriage expenses has been, as you are aware, for a length of time past a matter of great interest to His Highness the Rao, and much time and attention have been given to it by him, the result of which is manifest from the present satisfactory working of the arrangements in force in this province for the furtherance of that object.

3. In seeking alliances for daughters from *families of equal rank and position* with those from which wives are received, His Highness the Rao expresses his concurrence, and instances the fact of his having married his daughter to the *Raja of Edur*, whom, with the exception of being a Rathore, he considers his inferior in every point of view, and doubtless he is so; and further, that this union he consented to in order to meet the wishes of the British Government, and set an example to others to act in like manner.

4. In future marriages again in his own family, His Highness expresses his willingness to unite his daughter (should he have any more) to a personage of equal or of lower rank even than the Maharaja of Edur, wherever the negotiations may be satisfactory to both parties; and more, it appears to me, cannot be expected from him on this head.

5. Among the poorer Jharejas Rajpoots, availing themselves of the contributions from the Infanticide Fund, *marriages in Kutch have very considerably increased during the current year*, which cannot be looked upon otherwise than as an indication of their appreciation of such aid, which must tend in a very great degree, if not altogether, to reconcile them to the preservation of their female offspring; and as regards these classes, I am not aware that anything is further required to be done in the way of promoting marriages among them.

6. In the marriages of his Bhyad in this province, you will observe His Highness remarks that they are in the habit of marrying their daughters into families of lower rank than themselves, and no unwillingness on their part is shown in contracting such alliances.

7. With respect to *Pudloo*, and marrying by *Dhola* (by proxy), however, His Highness is averse, as being, he says, in opposition to the Shasters and the custom of kings; and in a matter such as this, His Highness is of course at liberty to hold his own opinion,—nor do I see any good that would be attained by endeavouring to controvert it.

Political Agent's Office, Bhooj.
9th July, 1855.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. W. TREVELYAN,
Acting Political Agent.

- (b) Translation of a Yad from His Highness the RAO OF KUTCH to Colonel TREVELYAN, Acting Political Agent in Kutch.

I have received your Yad No. 387, dated 28th June, in which you mention that Captain Barr, the Acting Political Agent in Kattywar, forwards a copy of a letter from Jam Shree Veebajee of Nowanuggur, and writes that the Jam, who is the head of the Chiefs of this province, has agreed to give his daughters to houses of the same rank as he may marry his sons from, and, with the view of lessening the marriage expense, has agreed to this advice on the part of Government: it is therefore hoped that the Maharapa Rao Saheb, who is the elder branch of the caste, will agree to do this also; and, consequent on Captain Barr's forwarding copy of his letter to the Bombay Government, I have now received a letter from Government, saying they hoped I would do all I could in the matter just conceded by the Jam. This letter was enclosed with a copy of the Jam Shree's letter by you, with a request that I should answer it.

My intentions have been in accordance with this from the beginning, and on Margsheersh Shoodh 4th, Sumvut 1909, I wrote to the Jam to this effect, and, keeping this point in view, *I married my daughter into the Edur family, though inferior to mine in rank, on advice of Government* and after this, Government should not think that there is any hindrance on my part, and I am willing to marry my daughters into my family of equal standing with that of Edur, or even inferior to him, or the *Swustans* of Kattywar from which I may take daughters for my sons, and I am ready to give and take daughters in marriage wherever the negotiations for betrothal may be satisfactory to both parties. From the beginning, I have put neither hindrance nor opposition in the way, nor do I now. But the matter of taking *Pudloo* and marrying by *Dhola* (by "*taking Podloo*" is meant the sum of money given to the parents of the girl about to be married by the parents of the bridegroom. By "*marrying by Dhola*" is meant the sending of the bride to the bridegroom, who does not come to receive her; this happens when the rank of the bridegroom is greater than that of the bride) is in opposition to the Shasters and the customs of kings, and I cannot consent to it; and as it is the custom for the Kattywar Chiefs both to take *Pudloo* and to marry their daughters by *Dhola*, they do not make any objections to it.

Besides, my Bhyad in this province are in the habit of marrying their daughters into families of lower rank than themselves and they show no perverseness regarding the marrying their daughters above them, so no hindrance can be imputed to them: therefore be pleased to write what you think proper on this subject to Government, and to the Political Agent in Kattywar.

1st. Ashad Vud 4th, Somwar, Sumvut 1912 (2nd July, 1855).
(True translation).

A. Y. SHORTT,

Acting Assistant Political Agent in Kutch.

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THE PORTRAIT OF MAHALI ECONOMY IN MIDNAPUR

The Earning Patterns of Tribal Basket-makers

By

Dr. Syamalkanti Sengupta, M.Sc., P.R.S., D.Phil.

The study is the first attempt to provide materials on economic anthropology in Indian context. Extensive field-work, methodological treatment and research skill make the book easy understandable to even a layman. The Mahalis, a basket-maker scheduled tribe of West Bengal, accept the change in basketry patterns and medium of exchange, for the change in consumers' preferences. Their traditional bamboo-works for the villagers have been replaced by the big-baskets for the use of betel-leaf dealers. Subsequently money as medium of exchange is introduced. Author's treatment of the subject is really praiseworthy.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE SANTAL

By

Vijay Kochar, M.A. (V.B.), M.A. (LUCK.)

"When Mr. Vijay Kochar went to study the Santal of Kuapara located just outside the campus of Visva-Bharati University, he was told by the local observers that the Santal of that village had changed too far from the aboriginal pattern and were no longer *true* Santal. . . Guided by his impressions (that the Santal of this village are fundamentally similar to Santal elsewhere) . . . Kochar addressed himself the fundamental question 'Who are then *true* Santal? When a person ceases to be a Santal?' These are the queries which led him to delve into the depth of the pattern of social structure. . . What would impress any careful reader of this monograph is the author's clarity of analytical thinking, good judgement and energetic collection of relevant quantitative data. . ."

Extract from the Foreword by
Dr. Surajit Sinha
Deputy Director
Anthropological Survey of India